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CORRESPONDENCE.

PART FIRST:

COMPRISING

PRIVATE LETTERS,

TO

THE TIME OF THE AUTHOR'S FIRST MISSION TO ENGLAND.

1725 — 1757.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO SIR HANS SLOANE.*

Offering a Purse made of Asbestos.

—— London, 2 June, 1725.

SIR,

Having lately been in the northern parts of America, I have brought from thence a purse made of the *asbestos*, a piece of the stone, and a piece of the wood, the pithy part of which is of the same nature, and called by the inhabitants *salamander cotton*. As you are noted to be a lover of curiosities, I have informed you of these; and if you have any inclination to purchase or see them, let me know your pleasure by a line for me at the

* First printed in the GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE for September, 1780, among several letters to Sir Hans Sloane from Alexander Pope and others. The author was nineteen years old at the time this letter was written, and was then residing in London, employed as a printer. He speaks of the *asbestos* in his autobiography, and says, "Sir Hans Sloane came to see me, and invited me to his house in Bloomsbury Square, showed me all his curiosities, and persuaded me to add that to the number; for which he paid me handsomely."

N. B. In the preceding volumes, consisting of essays and miscellaneous papers, many notes have been subjoined, which were written by the author and other persons. The names or initials of the writers have been affixed to these notes; and those added by the Editor have likewise been designated. Throughout the CORRESPONDENCE very few notes will occur, which are not furnished by the Editor, and for all such as are not expressly assigned to some other person he is responsible.

Golden Fan, Little Britain, and I will wait upon you with them. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. I expect to be out of town in two or three days, and therefore beg an immediate answer.

TO MISS JANE FRANKLIN.*

Philadelphia, 6 January, 1726-7.

DEAR SISTER,

I am highly pleased with the account Captain Freeman gives me of you. I always judged by your behaviour when a child, that you would make a good, agreeable woman, and you know you were ever my peculiar favorite. I have been thinking what would be a suitable present for me to make, and for you to receive, as I hear you are grown a celebrated beauty. I had almost determined on a tea-table; but when I considered, that the character of a good housewife was far preferable to that of being only a pretty gentlewoman, I concluded to send you a *spinning-wheel*, which I hope you will accept as a small token of my sincere love and affection.

Sister, farewell, and remember that modesty, as it makes the most homely virgin amiable and charming, so the want of it infallibly renders the most perfect beauty disagreeable and odious. But, when that brightest of female virtues shines among other perfections of body and mind in the same person, it makes the woman more lovely than an angel. Excuse this freedom, and use the same with me. I am, dear Jenny, your loving brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

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* His youngest sister, at this time nearly fifteen years old.

TO MRS. SARAH DAVENPORT.

[Date uncertain.]

DEAR SISTER,

Your kind and affectionate letter of May 15th was extremely agreeable to me, and the more so, because I had not for two years before received a line from any relation, my father and mother only excepted. I am glad to hear your family are got well through the small-pox, and that you have your health continued to you.

I am sorry to hear of sister Mecom's loss, and should be mighty glad to have a line from her, and from sister Holmes, who need be under no apprehensions of not writing polite enough to such an unpolite reader as I am. I think, if politeness is necessary to make letters between brothers and sisters agreeable, there must be very little love among them.

I am not about to be married, as you have heard. At present I am much hurried in business, but hope to make a short trip to Boston in the spring.

Please to let me know how sister Dowse is, and remember my kind love to her, as also to brother Peter and sister Lydia.* Dear sister, I love you tenderly. Adieu.

B. FRANKLIN.

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* This sister was afterwards married to Mr. Robert Scott.

TO MRS. JANE MECOM.*

Family Afflictions. — Singular Instance of Mortality.

Philadelphia, 19 June, 1731.

DEAR SISTER,

Yours of May 26th I received, with the melancholy news of the death of sister Davenport, a loss, without doubt, regretted by all that knew her, for she was a good woman. Her friends ought, however, to be comforted that they have enjoyed her so long, and that she has passed through the world happily, having never had any extraordinary misfortune or notable affliction, and that she is now secure in rest, in the place provided for the virtuous. I had before heard of the death of your first child, and am pleased that the loss is in some measure made up to you by the birth of a second.

We have had the smallpox here lately, which raged violently while it lasted. There have been about fifty persons inoculated, who all recovered, except a child of the doctor's, upon whom the smallpox appeared within a day or two after the operation, and who is therefore thought to have been certainly infected before. In one family in my neighbourhood there appeared a great mortality. Mr. George Claypoole (a descendant of Oliver Cromwell) had, by industry, acquired a great estate, and being in excellent business, a merchant, would probably have doubled it, had he lived according to the common course of years. He died first, suddenly; within a short time died his best negro; then one of his children; then a negro woman; then two children more, buried at the same time; then two more;

* His sister Jane was married to Mr. Edward Mecom, of Boston, on the 27th of July, 1727. — DUANE.

so that I saw two double buryings come out of the house in one week. None were left in the family, but the mother and one child, and both their lives till lately despaired of; so that all the father's wealth, which everybody thought, a little while ago, had heirs enough, and no one would have given sixpence for the reversion, was in a few weeks brought to the greatest probability of being divided among strangers; so uncertain are all human affairs. The dissolution of this family is generally ascribed to an imprudent use of quicksilver in the cure of the itch, Mr. Claypoole applying it as he thought proper, without consulting a physician for fear of charges; and the smallpox coming upon them at the same time made their case desperate.

But what gives me the greatest concern, is the account you give me of my sister Holmes's misfortune. I know a cancer in the breast is often thought incurable; yet we have here in town a kind of shell made of some wood, cut at a proper time, by some man of great skill, (as they say,) which has done wonders in that disease among us, being worn for some time on the breast. I am not apt to be superstitiously fond of believing such things, but the instances are so well attested, as sufficiently to convince the most incredulous.

This, if I have interest enough to procure, as I think I have, I will borrow for a time, and send it to you, and hope the doctors you have will at least allow the experiment to be tried, and shall rejoice to hear it has the accustomed effect.

You have mentioned nothing in your letter of our dear parents; but I conclude they are well, because you say nothing to the contrary. I want to hear from sister Dowse, and to know of her welfare, as also of my sister Lydia, who I hear is lately married. I intended to have visited you this summer, but printing the paper

money here has hindered me near two months, and our Assembly will sit the 2d of August next, at which time I must not be absent; but I hope to see you this fall. I am your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO JOSIAH FRANKLIN.

Religious Opinions and Practice. — Freemasons.

Philadelphia, 13 April, 1738.

HONORED FATHER,

I have your favors of the 21st of March, in which you both seem concerned lest I have imbibed some erroneous opinions. Doubtless I have my share; and when the natural weakness and imperfection of human understanding is considered, the unavoidable influence of education, custom, books, and company upon our ways of thinking, I imagine a man must have a good deal of vanity who believes, and a good deal of boldness who affirms, that all the doctrines he holds are true, and all he rejects are false. And perhaps the same may be justly said of every sect, church, and society of men, when they assume to themselves that infallibility, which they deny to the Pope and councils.

I think opinions should be judged of by their influences and effects; and, if a man holds none that tend to make him less virtuous or more vicious, it may be concluded he holds none that are dangerous; which I hope is the case with me.

I am sorry you should have any uneasiness on my account; and, if it were a thing possible for one to alter his opinions in order to please another, I know none whom I ought more willingly to oblige in that respect than yourselves. But, since it is no more in a man's

power to *think* than to *look* like another, methinks all that should be expected from me is, to keep my mind open to conviction, to hear patiently, and examine attentively, whatever is offered me for that end; and, if after all I continue in the same errors, I believe your usual charity will induce you to rather pity and excuse, than blame me. In the mean time your care and concern for me is what I am very thankful for.

My mother grieves, that one of her sons is an Arian, another an Arminian. What an Arminian or an Arian is, I cannot say that I very well know. The truth is, I make such distinctions very little my study. I think vital religion has always suffered, when orthodoxy is more regarded than virtue; and the Scriptures assure me, that at the last day we shall not be examined what we *thought*, but what we *did*; and our recommendation will not be, that we said, *Lord! Lord!* but that we did good to our fellow creatures. See Matt. xxv.

As to the freemasons, I know no way of giving my mother a better account of them than she seems to have at present, since it is not allowed that women should be admitted into that secret society. She has, I must confess, on that account, some reason to be displeased with it; but, for any thing else, I must entreat her to suspend her judgment till she is better informed, unless she will believe me, when I assure her, that they are in general a very harmless sort of people, and have no principles or practices that are inconsistent with religion and good manners.

We have had great rains here lately, which, with the thawing of snow on the mountains back of our country, have made vast floods in our rivers, and, by carrying away bridges, boats, &c., made travelling almost impracticable for a week past; so that our post has entirely missed making one trip.

I hear nothing of Dr. Crook, nor can I learn any such person has ever been here.

I hope my sister Jenny's child is by this time recovered. I am your dutiful son.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. JANE MECOM.

Religion. — Charity.

Philadelphia, 28 July, 1743.

DEAREST SISTER JENNY,

I took your admonition very kindly, and was far from being offended at you for it. If I say any thing about it to you, it is only to rectify some wrong opinions you seem to have entertained of me; and this I do only because they give you some uneasiness, which I am unwilling to be the occasion of. You express yourself as if you thought I was against the worshipping of God and doubt that good works would merit heaven; which are both fancies of your own, I think, without foundation. I am so far from thinking that God is not to be worshipped, that I have composed and wrote a whole book of devotions for my own use; and I imagine there are few if any in the world so weak as to imagine that the little good we can do here can merit so vast a reward hereafter.

There are some things in your New England doctrine and worship, which I do not agree with; but I not therefore condemn them, or desire to shake your belief or practice of them. We may dislike things that are nevertheless right in themselves. I would only have you make me the same allowance, and have a better opinion both of morality and your brother. Read the pages of Mr. Edwards's late book, entitled "Some

Thoughts concerning the present Revival of Religion in New England," from 367 to 375, and when you judge of others, if you can perceive the fruit to be good, don't terrify yourself that the tree may be evil; but be assured it is not so, for you know who has said, "Men do not gather grapes of thorns and figs of thistles." I have no time to add, but that I shall always be your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. It was not kind in you, when your sister commended good works, to suppose she intended it a reproach to you. It was very far from her thoughts.*

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* The following extract from a letter, written to a relative many years afterwards, may with propriety be added in this place.

"I received a letter or two from you, in which I perceive you have misunderstood and taken unkindly something I said to you in a former jocular one of mine concerning *charity*. I forget what it was exactly, but I am sure I neither expressed nor meant any personal censure on you or anybody. If any thing, it was a general reflection on our sect, we zealous Presbyterians being too apt to think ourselves alone in the right, and that, besides all the Heathens, Mahometans, and Papists, whom we give to Satan in a lump, other sects of Christian Protestants, that do not agree with us, will hardly escape perdition. And I might recommend it to you to be more charitable in that respect, than many others are, not aiming at any reproof, as you term it; for if I were disposed to reprove you, it should be for your only fault, that of supposing and spying affronts, and catching at them, where they are not. But, as you seem sensible of this yourself, I need not mention it; and, as it is a fault that carries with it its own sufficient punishment, by the uneasiness and fretting it produces, I shall not add weight to it. Besides, I am sure your own good sense, joined to your natural good humor, will in time get the better of it."

TO EDWARD AND JANE MECOM.

Philadelphia, [date uncertain.]

DEAR BROTHER AND SISTER,

If you still continue your inclination to send Benny,* you may do it by the first vessel to New York. Write a line by him, directed to Mr. James Parker, Printer, on Hunter's Key, New York. I am confident he will be kindly used there, and I shall hear from him every week. You will advise him to be very cheerful, and ready to do every thing he is bid, and endeavour to oblige everybody, for that is the true way to get friends.

Dear Sister, I love you tenderly for your care of our father in his sickness. I am, in great haste, your loving brother, B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. JANE MECOM.

Condition of Apprentices, and Habits of Boys.

Philadelphia, [date uncertain.]

DEAR SISTER,

I received your letter, with one for Benny, and one for Mr. Parker, and also two of Benny's letters of complaint, which, as you observe, do not amount to much. I should have had a very bad opinion of him, if he had written to you those accusations of his master, which you mention; because, from long acquaintance with his master, who lived some years in my house, I know him to be a sober, pious, and conscientious man; so that Newport, to whom you seem to have given too

* Benjamin Mecom, a nephew of Dr. Franklin, whom he seems to have taken particularly under his charge.

much credit, must have wronged Mr. Parker very much in his accounts, and have wronged Benny too, if he says Benny told him such things, for I am confident he never did.

As to the bad attendance afforded him in the small-pox, I believe, if the negro woman did not do her duty, her master or mistress would, if they had known it, have had that matter mended. But Mrs. Parker was herself, if I am not mistaken, sick at that time, and her child also. And, though he gives the woman a bad character in general, all he charges her with in particular is, that she never brought him what he called for directly, and sometimes not at all. He had the distemper favorably, and yet I suppose was bad enough to be, like other sick people, a little impatient, and perhaps might think a short time long, and sometimes call for things not proper for one in his condition.

As to clothes, I am frequently at New York, and I never saw him unprovided with what was good, decent, and sufficient. I was there no longer ago than March last, and he was then well clothed, and made no complaint to me of any kind. I heard both his master and mistress call upon him on Sunday morning to get ready to go to meeting, and tell him of his frequently delaying and shuffling till it was too late, and he made not the least objection about clothes. I did not think it any thing extraordinary, that he should be sometimes willing to evade going to meeting; for I believe it is the case with all boys, or almost all. I have brought up four or five myself, and have frequently observed, that if their shoes were bad, they would say nothing of a new pair till Sunday morning, just as the bell rung, when, if you asked them why they did not get ready, the answer was prepared, "I have no shoes," and so of other things, hats and the like; or, if they knew of

any thing that wanted mending, it was a secret till Sunday morning, and sometimes I believe they would rather tear a little, than be without the excuse.

As to going on petty errands, no boys love it, but all must do it. As soon as they become fit for better business, they naturally get rid of that, for the master's interest comes in to their relief. I make no doubt but Mr. Parker will take another apprentice, as soon as he can meet with a likely one. In the mean time I should be glad if Benny would exercise a little patience. There is a negro woman, that does a great many of those errands.

I do not think his going on board the privateer arose from any difference between him and his master, or any ill usage he had received. When boys see prizes brought in, and quantities of money shared among the men, and their gay living, it fills their heads with notions, that half distract them, and put them quite out of conceit with trades, and the dull ways of getting money by working. This I suppose was Ben's case, the *Catherine* being just before arrived with three rich prizes; and that the glory of having taken a privateer of the enemy, for which both officers and men were highly extolled, treated, presented, &c., worked strongly upon his imagination, you will see, by his answer to my letter, is not unlikely. I send it to you enclosed. I wrote him largely on the occasion; and, though he might possibly, to excuse that slip to others, complain of his place, you may see he says not a syllable of any such thing to me. My only son, before I permitted him to go to Albany, left my house unknown to us all, and got on board a privateer, from whence I fetched him. No one imagined it was hard usage at home, that made him do this. Every one, that knows me, thinks I am too indulgent a parent, as well as master.

I shall tire you, perhaps, with the length of this letter; but I am the more particular, in order, if possible, to satisfy your mind about your son's situation. His master has, by a letter this post, desired me to write to him about his staying out of nights, sometimes all night, and refusing to give an account where he spends his time, or in what company. This I had not heard of before, though I perceive you have. I do not wonder at his correcting him for that. If he was my own son, I should think his master did not do his duty by him, if he omitted it, for to be sure it is the high road to destruction. And I think the correction very light, and not likely to be very effectual, if the strokes left no marks.

His master says farther, as follows; "I think I cannot charge my conscience with being much short of my duty to him. I shall now desire you, if you have not done it already, to invite him to lay his complaints before you, that I may know how to remedy them." Thus far the words of his letter, which giving me a fair opening to inquire into the affair, I shall accordingly do it, and I hope settle every thing to all your satisfactions. In the mean time, I have laid by your letters both to Mr. Parker and Benny, and shall not send them till I hear again from you; because I think your appearing to give ear to such groundless stories may give offence, and create a greater misunderstanding, and because I think what you write to Benny, about getting him discharged, may tend to unsettle his mind, and therefore improper at this time.

I have a very good opinion of Benny in the main, and have great hopes of his becoming a worthy man, his faults being only such as are commonly incident to boys of his years, and he has many good qualities, for which I love him. I never knew an apprentice con-

tented with the clothes allowed him by his master, let them be what they would. Jemmy Franklin, when with me, was always dissatisfied and grumbling. When I was last in Boston, his aunt bid him go to a shop and please himself, which the gentleman did, and bought a suit of clothes on my account dearer by one half, than any I ever afforded myself, one suit excepted; which I don't mention by way of complaint of Jemmy, for he and I are good friends, but only to show you the nature of boys.

The letters to Mr. Vanhorne were sent by Mr. Whitefield, under my cover.

I am, with love to brother and all yours, and duty to mother, to whom I have not time now to write, your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO JOSIAH AND ABIAH FRANKLIN.

Remedies for the Stone and Gravel.

Philadelphia, 6 September, 1744.

HONORED FATHER AND MOTHER,

I apprehend I am too busy in prescribing and meddling in the doctor's sphere, when any of you complain of ails in your letters. But, as I always employ a physician myself, when any disorder arises in my family, and submit implicitly to his orders in every thing, so I hope you consider my advice, when I give any, only as a mark of my good will, and put no more of it in practice than happens to agree with what your doctor directs.

Your notion of the use of strong lye I suppose may have a good deal in it. The salt of tartar, or salt of wormwood, frequently prescribed for cutting, opening,

and cleansing, is nothing more than the salt of lye procured by evaporation. Mrs. Stevens's medicine for the stone and gravel, the secret of which was lately purchased at a great price by the Parliament, has for its principal ingredient salt, which Boerhaave calls the most universal remedy. The same salt intimately mixed with oil of turpentine, which you also mentioned, make the *sapo philosophorum*, wonderfully extolled by some chemists for like purposes. It is highly probable, as your doctor says, that medicines are much altered in passing between the stomach and bladder; but such salts seem well fitted in their nature to pass with the least alteration of almost any thing we know; and, if they will not dissolve gravel and stone, yet I am half persuaded that a moderate use of them may go a great way towards preventing these disorders, as they assist a weaker digestion in the stomach, and powerfully dissolve crudities such as those which I have frequently experienced. As to honey and molasses, I did not mention them merely as openers and looseners, but also from conjecture, that, as they are heavier in themselves than our common drink, they might when dissolved in our bodies increase the gravity of our fluids, the urine in particular, and by that means keep separate and suspended therein those particles, which, when unused, form gravel, &c.

I will inquire after the herb you mention. We have a botanist here, an intimate friend of mine, who knows all the plants in the country. He would be glad of the correspondence of some gentlemen of the same taste with you, and has twice, through my hands, sent specimens of the famous Chinese *ginseng*, found here, to persons who desired it in Boston, neither of whom has had the civility to write him a word in answer, or

even to acknowledge the receipt of it, of which please to give a hint to brother John.

We have had a very healthy summer and a fine harvest; the country is filled with bread; but, as trade declines since the war began, I know not what our farmers will do for a market. I am your affectionate and dutiful son, B. FRANKLIN.

TO JOHN FRANKLIN, AT BOSTON.

*Humorous Remarks on the Expedition against Cape Breton.**

Philadelphia, 1745.

— Our people are extremely impatient to hear of your success at Cape Breton. My shop is filled with thirty inquiries at the coming in of every post. Some wonder the place is not yet taken. I tell them I shall be glad to hear that news three months hence. Fortified towns are hard nuts to crack; and your teeth have not been accustomed to it. Taking strong places is a particular trade, which you have taken up without serving an apprenticeship to it. Armies and veterans need skilful engineers to direct them in their attack. Have you any? But some seem to think forts are as easy taken as snuff. Father Moody's prayers look tolerably modest. You have a fast and prayer day for that purpose; in which I compute five hundred thousand petitions were offered up to the same effect in New England, which added to the petitions of every family morning and evening, multiplied by the number of days since January 25th, make forty-five millions of

* The expedition against Cape Breton proved successful, by the surrender of Louisburg, on the 17th of June. The news arrived in Boston on the 3d of July.

prayers; which, set against the prayers of a few priests in the garrison, to the Virgin Mary, give a vast balance in your favor.

If you do not succeed, I fear I shall have but an indifferent opinion of Presbyterian prayers in such cases, as long as I live. Indeed, in attacking strong towns I should have more dependence on *works*, than on *faith*; for, like the kingdom of heaven, they are to be taken by force and violence; and in a French garrison I suppose there are devils of that kind, that they are not to be cast out by prayers and fasting, unless it be by their own fasting for want of provisions. I believe there is Scripture in what I have wrote, but I cannot adorn the margin with quotations, having a bad memory, and no Concordance at hand; besides no more time than to subscribe myself, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO JAMES READ.

Saturday Morning, 17 August, 1745.

DEAR JEMMY,

I have been reading your letter over again, and, since you desire an answer, I sit down to write you one; yet, as I write in the market, it will, I believe, be but a short one, though I may be long about it. I approve of your method of writing one's mind, when one is too warm to speak it with temper; but, being quite cool myself in this affair, I might as well speak as write, if I had an opportunity.

Are you an attorney by profession, and do you know no better how to choose a proper court in which to bring your action? Would you submit to the decision of a husband, a cause between you and his wife? Don't you know that all wives are in the right? It

may be you don't, for you are yet but a young husband. But see, on this head, the learned Coke, that oracle of the law, in his chapter *De Jur. Marit. Angl.* I advise you not to bring it to trial; for, if you do, you will certainly be cast.

Frequent interruptions make it impossible for me to go through all your letter. I have only time to remind you of the saying of that excellent old philosopher. Socrates, *that, in differences among friends, they that make the first concessions are the wisest;* and to hint to you, that you are in danger of losing that honor in the present case, if you are not very speedy in your acknowledgments, which I persuade myself you will be, when you consider the sex of your adversary.

Your visits never had but one thing disagreeable in them, that is, they were always too short. I shall exceedingly regret the loss of them, unless you continue, as you have begun, to make it up to me by long letters.

I am, dear Jemmy, with sincere love to our dearest Suky, your very affectionate friend and cousin,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO CADWALLADER COLDEN.

Philadelphia, 1 October, 1747.

SIR,

I send you herewith the "History of the Five Nations." You will perceive that Osborne, to puff up the book, has inserted the Charters, &c., of this province, all under the title of *History of the Five Nations;* which I think was not fair, but it is a common trick of booksellers.

Mr. James Read, to whom Mr. Osborne has sent a parcel of books by recommendation of Mr. Collinson, being engaged in business of another kind, talks of

declining to act in disposing of them, and perhaps may put them into my hands. If he should, I will endeavour to do Mr. Osborne justice in disposing of them to the best advantage, as also of any other parcel he may send me from your recommendation.

Mr. Armit is returned well from New England. As he has your power of attorney, and somewhat more leisure at present, than I have, I think to put your letter to Mr. Hughes into his hands, and desire him to manage the affair of your servant. I shall write a line besides to Hughes, that he would assist in obliging the servant to do you justice, which may be of some service, as he owns himself obliged to me, for recovering a servant for him, that had been gone above a twelvemonth. I am, Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO CADWALLADER COLDEN.

Apprehensions of an Attack from the Enemy. — Schemes of Defence. — He applies for Cannon from New York.

Philadelphia, 27 November, 1747.

SIR,

The violent party spirit, that appears in all the votes, &c., of your Assembly, seems to me extremely unseasonable as well as unjust, and to threaten mischief not only to yourselves but to your neighbours. It begins to be plain that the French may reap great advantages from your divisions. God grant they may be as blind to their own interest, and as negligent of it, as the English are of theirs. It must be inconvenient to you to remove your family, but more so to you and them to live under continual apprehensions and alarms. I shall be glad to hear you are all in a place of safety.

Though "*Plain Truth*"* bore somewhat hard on both parties here, it has had the happiness not to give much offence to either. It has wonderfully spirited us up to defend ourselves and country, to which end great numbers are entering into an association, of which I send you a copy enclosed. We are likewise setting on foot a lottery to raise three thousand pounds for erecting a battery of cannon below the city. We have petitioned the Proprietor to send us some from England, and have ordered our correspondents to send us over a parcel, if the application to the Proprietor fails. But, lest by any accident they should miscarry, I am desired to write to you, and ask your opinion, whether, if our government should apply to Governor Clinton to borrow a few of your spare cannon, till we could be supplied, such application might probably meet with success. Pray excuse the effects of haste on this letter.

I am, Sir, with the greatest respect, your most obliged humble servant. B. FRANKLIN.

FROM R. PETERS TO JOHN AND RICHARD PENN.†

Origin of the Association for the Defence of the Province, and the Part taken by Franklin in forming it.

Philadelphia, 29 November, 1747.

HONORED PROPRIETARIES,

Abundance of stories have been told by sailors and others, who have been taken by French privateers and

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* See this tract in Vol. III. pp. 1 et seq.

† Richard Peters was at this time secretary of the proprietary government, and as such it was a part of his duty to acquaint the Proprietaries with every important transaction, which occurred in the province. It turned out, that the Proprietaries were not pleased with the course that

carried into Martinico and Guadaloupe, that the French know our bay and river as well as we do, that they are sure the Quakers will not consent to the raising fortifications, that there are no men-of-war upon the coast, that vast wealth may be got from the plunder of the city, and that some merchants and captains of ships in the French islands have actually concerted a scheme, to be executed by six privateers, of force against the city, some time next year. They tell further, that the captains of the English men-of-war have orders to detain every French sailor they take, and to send them to England, and never to suffer any of them to be exchanged, or to go to any of the French ports in the West Indies. I know not what truth there is in this, but they say the French have got this notion, and therefore think, that the French privateers will quit their cruises in the West Indies, and come by shoals on this coast next summer; and, if a number of them should by chance meet together, they may, having some of our pilots on board, encourage one another to make an attempt on the city, especially if there should be no men-of-war in New York or Virginia.

These accounts are handed about amongst the tradesmen, and have made strong impressions on numbers. The Quakers too have exasperated several of their people by an unseasonable inquisition into the names of all such of their persuasion, as contributed to the manning out the *Warren* privateer for a cruise on our coast,

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was taken. They conceived that the articles of association gave too much power to the associators, who were permitted to choose their own officers, thus encroaching upon the prerogative of the governor. Mr Peters explained, and spoke favorably of the associators, saying that they acted only by orders from the Council, and that, although they were allowed to choose their officers, yet these were commissioned by the governor, who had it in his own power at any time to revoke the commissions.

in order to drive away the French and Spanish privateers that infested the Bay last summer, with an intent to excommunicate all who will not recant. Not only moderate Friends are disobliged at these imperious measures of the meeting, but it has raised universal odium in the members of all the other congregations. Benjamin Franklin, who has for some time past been really apprehensive of a visit from the French, observing this turn in the people's minds, thought he could by some well wrote papers improve this opportunity, take advantage of their fears, and spirit them up to an Association for their defence. He communicated this opinion to Mr. Francis, Mr. Coleman, and Mr. Hopkinson, on which a scheme was formed to assume the character of a tradesman, to fall foul of the Quakers and their opposers equally, as people from whom no good could be expected, and, by this artifice, to animate all the middling persons to undertake their own defence, in opposition to the Quakers and the gentlemen.

If this should take effect, Mr. Allen and his friends might publish a vindication of their conduct, and modestly offer a junction of their interest to promote the public good. Franklin offered to print all papers gratis, in his *Gazette;* and, if they should be too voluminous to be inserted there, he would not only print them gratis pamphlet-wise, but send them with the *Gazette* to every one of his customers. The first thing that was done, in consequence of this overture, was the publication of some verses in praise of Robert Barclay, taken, I suppose, out of one of the Magazines; then a quotation out of his "Apology" on the subject of defence, with some sly but strong observations, which any pious and well inclined Quaker might make. This had its effect in dividing moderate men from bigots, and begot open exclamations against the inquisition set up

by the meeting from men, who, but just before, were observed to stifle their disgust.

On the 17th instant there appeared a strong and pathetic appeal to the people, mostly of Franklin's own doing, and in the next weekly paper some quotations were inserted from Thomas Edmundson. On Saturday there was a meeting of one hundred persons, mostly tradesmen, in Chancellor's sail-loft, and Franklin, after having addressed them as the first movers in every useful undertaking, that had been projected for the good of the city, Library Company, Fire Companies, &c., pulled a draft of an intended Association out of his pocket and read it. All approved and offered to sign it. "No," says he, "let us not sign yet; let us offer it at least to the gentlemen, and, if they come into it, well and good, we shall be the better able to carry it into execution." On this, all the better sort of the people met on Monday at the Coffee House, where Franklin produced his draft, and it was unanimously agreed, that several should be printed and signed at the new building the next night; which was accordingly done, and I am told by Mr. Franklin, that there will be a thousand hands to it before night.

I have given you a full relation of every thing that is come to my knowledge relating to this affair, having had no hand in it, neither privately nor publicly myself; but in justice to Mr. Allen I must tell you, that, when he first communicated the affair to me, which was before it was reduced to any settled form or plan, he told me, that Mr. Franklin and the other persons concerned desired I should be made acquainted with every step, since they had nothing in view but the security of their lives and properties, and thought they were at the same time doing the Proprietaries true service, in defending the country by a volunteer association, which the legis-

lature had refused to do; and therefore they expected the countenance and assistance of the Proprietaries, and depended on me to make their regards to the Proprietors' family known to them in such a manner, as to induce them to believe the associators were heartily in their interest; and, as vast numbers would accede to them, it would be mightily for their advantage to encourage them by a generous supply of cannon and small arms.

In short, the scheme took its rise from the just fears and apprehensions, which all sorts of people were under for their lives and properties; and, though there may be at the bottom of it a personal antipathy to Quakers, who brought the country into this dilemma, yet they really desire to recommend themselves to the Proprietaries. RICHARD PETERS.

FROM JAMES LOGAN TO B. FRANKLIN.*

3 December, 1747.

MY FRIEND B. FRANKLIN,

I have expected to see thee here for several weeks, according to my son's information, with Euclid's title-page printed, and my Mattaire's Lives of the Stephenses;

* James Logan, descended from an ancient family of Restalrig in Scotland, was born at Lurgan, in Ireland, 1674. His father was a man of great learning, and educated for the Scottish church; but, having been converted to the principles of the Quakers, he was, at the time of his son's birth, a teacher in a public school in that Society. At an early age James Logan became imbued with a love of letters and science. Before he was thirteen years old, he had made uncommon proficiency in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages. He soon afterwards acquired a taste for the mathematics, in which he became profoundly skilled, and which science seems to have been his favorite study through life. For a few years he had charge of a large Grammar School at Bristol, in England; but he afterwards engaged in commerce Becoming acquainted with William Penn, he was induced by him to give up

but it is probable thy thoughts of thy new excellent project have in some measure diverted thee, to which I most heartily wish all possible success; of which, notwithstanding, I have some doubts, partly for want of arms for some of the common people, who may be willing to enlist, and for want of will in many others, as well of the Dutch as of our people, and both these for want of a militia act to compel them. Ever since I have had the power of thinking, I have clearly seen that government without arms is an incons.stency.

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his plans of life, and accompany him as secretary on his second visit to Pennsylvania, in 1699.

Having acquired the entire confidence of the Proprietor, he was left by him in the charge of his private estate, and in the important offices of Provincial Secretary, Commissioner of Property, and Receiver-General. In the course of his life, he filled the places of Recorder of the City of Philadelphia, Presiding Judge of Common Pleas, Chief Justice of the Province, and President of the Council, in which last office he governed the Province for two years, from 1736 to 1738. He also had the entire management of the intercourse with the Indians. When William Penn left the Province, in 1701, he presented Mr. Logan to the assembled Chiefs, as his representative; and this choice of an agent was justified by his conduct. During the whole of his public life, the affectionate intercourse commenced by William Penn, and the confidential reliance inspired by his justice and benevolence, were preserved by James Logan. It is perhaps worthy of being mentioned, that the celebrated Mingo Chief, whose eloquent speech is contained in Mr. Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*, was named Logan by his father Shickellemy, as a mark of respect and gratitude for the friend and protector of himself and his race.

A history of James Logan's public life would be that of Pennsylvania during the first forty years of the last century. Venerating William Penn, with whose noble and generous nature he was well acquainted, he stood up at all times in his defence against the encroachments of the Assembly; and, if he forfeited his popularity, and endured calumny and persecution, he preserved his fidelity, the confidence of his employers, and the respect of all good men. Weary of the burden of public office, he retired in 1738 from all his salaried employments, remaining only a short time longer a member of the Provincial Council. At his estate, called Stenton, near Germantown, he passed in retirement the remainder of his days, devoted to agriculture and his favorite studies. A large collection of mathematical papers in manuscript, exhibiting extensive and varied researches in that science, are marked on the envelope, *Horæ ante Nonam*,

Our Friends spare no pains to get and accumulate estates, and are yet against defending them, though these very estates are in a great measure the sole cause of their being invaded, as I showed to our Yearly Meeting, last September was six years, in a paper thou then printed. But I request to be informed, as soon as thou hast any leisure, what measures are proposed to furnish small arms, powder, and ball to those in the country; and particularly what measures are taken to defend our river, especially at the Red Bank, on the

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and are doubtless the results of his morning recreations before office-hours. His correspondence with the literary men of America and Europe, from the year 1713, proves that there was scarcely a department of learning in which he was not interested. History, archæology, criticism, theology, ethics, natural philosophy, anatomy, and law, are treated of. Sometimes Hebrew or Arabic characters, and algebraic formulas, roughen the pages of his letter books. Sometimes his letters convey a lively Greek ode to a learned friend, and often they are written in the Latin language. Among his correspondents in this country were Cadwallader Colden, Governor Burnet, and Colonel Hunter, the accomplished friend of Swift; and in Europe, Collinson, Fothergill, Mead, Sir Hans Sloane, Flamsteed, Jones the mathematician, father of the celebrated Sir William Jones, Fabricius, Gronovius, and Linnæus; the last of whom gave the name of Logan to a Class in botany.

Of his printed writings perhaps the best known is his Translation of Cicero's "*Cato Major, or a Discourse on Old Age*," with explanatory notes, which was printed by Franklin in 1744, and several times reprinted in England. He also wrote "*Experimenta et Meletemata de Plantarum Generatione*," printed at Leyden in 1739, and afterwards translated by Dr. Fothergill, and printed in London; "*Demonstrationes de Radiorum Lucis in Superficies sphericas ab Axe incidentium a primario Foco Aberrationibus*," printed at Leyden, 1741; "*Epistola ad Virum Clarissimum Joannem Albertum Fabricium*," printed at Amsterdam, 1740; "*A Translation of Cato's Distichs into English Verse*," printed at Philadelphia. He furnished contributions to the Philosophical Transactions, and wrote other pieces on various subjects in Latin and English, some of which were published. He also left some curious papers in manuscript, particularly part of an ethical treatise, entitled "*The Duties of Man, as they may be deduced from Nature.*" This was prepared with great care. Parts of it were sent to his friends in England, and received their high commendation; but it seems never to have been completed. Also fragments of a "*Dissertation on the Writings of Moses;*" "*A Defence of Aristotle and the*

Jersey side, and on our own, where there ought not to be less than forty guns, from six to twelve pounders. What gunners are to be depended on?

Thy project of a lottery to clear £3,000 is excellent, and I hope it will be speedily filled; nor shall I be wanting. But thou wilt answer all these questions and much more, if thou wilt visit me here, as on First day, to dine with me, and thou wilt exceedingly oblige thy very loving friend, JAMES LOGAN.

Ancient Philosophers;" Essays on Languages and on the Antiquities of the British Isles; a Translation of Maurocordatus περὶ καθηκόντων, and of Philo Judæus's *Allegory of the Essæans*.

His acquaintance with Franklin began at an early date, and he had the highest opinion of him from the first, as an industrious, useful, and ingenious man; giving him every encouragement as a printer, and much assistance in his scientific pursuits and public enterprises. In the military defence of the city he was prominently active, notwithstanding his connexion with the Friends' Meeting. Indeed he at all times vindicated the principle of self-defence, as not only consistent with the Christian doctrines, but absolutely essential to the existence of society. In every other respect, though neither austere nor bigoted, he was a strict Friend. His virtues, his benevolence, his public integrity and services, his intimate connexion with William Penn, and the honor which his talents and learning conferred on the Society of Friends, perhaps saved him from the censure, which a less eminent man might have incurred.

In addition to his services as a public man, and his high reputation among his contemporaries, the valuable library left by him to the City of Philadelphia should preserve his name in grateful and honorable remembrance. In the philosophical and mathematical sciences, in philology and criticism, classical literature and history, it was as perfect, as it could be made at the period of his death; and the funds left by him for its increase were sufficient to fill it up, as the advance of literature and science required. Although the number of volumes has increased from four thousand to about nine thousand, it may be doubted whether it has been completed as its founder would have desired. In the acquisitions by gifts, and purchase from the library of Mr. McKensie, there are certainly many rare books; but the scholar will look in vain for the best recent editions of old authors, and the learned comments of modern critics; and the scientific inquirer, for almost all the valuable works on the improvements in natural science and the mathematics.

James Logan died on the 31st of October, 1751, aged seventy-seven years, and was buried in the Friends' grave-yard, at the corner of Arch Street and Fourth Street in Philadelphia.—J. FRANCIS FISHER.

TO JAMES LOGAN.

Fortifications on the Delaware River.

Monday Noon, [4 December, 1747.]

SIR,

I am heartily glad you approve of our proceedings. We shall have arms for the poor in the spring, and a number of battering cannon. The place for the batteries is not yet fixed; but it is generally thought that near Red Bank will be most suitable, as the enemy must there have natural difficulties to struggle with, besides the channel being narrow. The Dutch are as hearty as the English. "Plain Truth" and the "Association" are in their language, and their parsons encourage them. It is proposed to breed gunners by forming an artillery club, to go down weekly to the battery and exercise the great guns. The best engineers against Cape Breton were of such a club, tradesmen and shopkeepers of Boston. I was with them at the Castle* at their exercise in 1743.

I have not time to write larger, nor to wait on you till next week. In general all goes well, and there is a surprising unanimity in all ranks. Near eight hundred have signed the *Association*, and more are signing hourly. One company of Dutch is complete. I am with great respect, Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.†

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* Castle William, in Boston harbour.

† An account of the proceedings, to which this letter relates, may be found at the beginning of the third Volume.

TO CADWALLADER COLDEN.

Procuring Cannon for Defence. — Sale of Books. — Opinion of Mr. Colden's "History of the Five Nations."

Philadelphia, 27 January, 1748.

DEAR SIR,

I received your favor relating to the cannon. We have petitioned our Proprietors for some, and have besides wrote absolutely to London for a quantity, in case the application to the Proprietors should not succeed; so that, accidents excepted, we are sure of being supplied some time next summer. But, as we are extremely desirous of having some mounted early in the spring, and perhaps, if your engineer should propose to use all you have, the works he may intend will not very soon be ready to receive them, we should think ourselves exceedingly obliged to your government, if you would lend us a few for one year only. When you return to New York, I hope a great deal from your interest and influence.

Mr. Read, to whom Osborne consigned your books,* did not open or offer them for sale till within these two weeks, being about to remove, when he received them, and having till now no conveniency of shelves, &c. In our two last papers he has advertised generally, that he has a parcel of books to sell, Greek, Latin, French, and English, but makes no particular mention of the Indian History; it is therefore no wonder that he has sold none of them, as he told me a few days since. I had one of them from London, which I sent you before any of my friends saw it. So, as no one here has read

* Mr. Colden's "History of the Five Indian Nations," which was published in London, and copies of which were sent over to be sold in Philadelphia.

it but myself, I can only tell you my own opinion, that it is a well written, entertaining, and instructive piece, and must be exceedingly useful to all those colonies. which have any thing to do with Indian affairs.

You have reason to be pleased with the mathema tician's envious expression about your tract on gravitation.* I long to see from Europe some of the deliberate and mature thoughts of their philosophers upon it.

To obtain some leisure I have taken a partner † into the printing-house; but, though I am thereby a good deal disengaged from private business, I find myself still fully occupied. The association, lottery, and batteries fill up at present a great part of my time.‡

I thank you for communicating the sheet on the first principles of morality, the continuation of which I shall be glad to see. I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

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* For an account of this work, see Vol. VI. p. 95.

† David Hall, a Scotchman by birth, and a friend of Mr. Strahan, worked in the same office with him as a journeyman printer in London. His partnership with Franklin continued eighteen years, during which time he had the principal charge of the business, and proved himself an honest, industrious, and worthy man. He conducted the *Pennsylvania Gazette* with prudence and ability. He was likewise a bookseller and stationer. He died on the 17th of December, 1772, at the age of fifty-eight years. See THOMAS's *History of Printing*, Vol. II. p. 54.

‡ In his autobiography Franklin says; "I proposed a Lottery to defray the expense of building a battery below the town, and furnishing it with cannon. It filled expeditiously, and the battery was soon erected." "Mr. Logan put into my hands sixty pounds, to be laid out in lottery tickets for the battery, with directions to apply what prizes might be drawn wholly to that service." The following memoranda, found in Franklin's handwriting, show his manner of proceeding on this occasion.

"Proposed, That the Managers of the Lottery be applied to, to appoint suitable persons to go down the river to the Capes, and there consult with the persons in authority, and concert with them the modes of conveying intelligence to Philadelphia, whether by express or otherwise when any enemies appear of such force as to make an alarm necessary

TO JAMES LOGAN.

Cannon from Boston. — Insurance on Lottery Tickets.

Philadelphia, 27 January, 1748.

Sir,

I have not yet found the book, but suppose I shall to-morrow. The post goes out to-day, which allows me no time to look for it. We have a particular account from Boston of the guns there. They are in all thirty-nine, Spanish make and new; fifteen of them are twenty-eight pounders, and twenty-four are fourteen

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or even such as may endanger our trade; who may likewise, in returning, land at such places as they judge suitable to give signals from, and endeavour to agree with the neighbouring inhabitants to keep watch, and give the signals that may be agreed on, and engage to furnish them with guns, tar-barrels, or whatever else may be necessary for that purpose.

"That, for the more certain alarming the country on any occasion, as soon as the commander-in-chief at Philadelphia is well informed of the approach, on our coasts, of any considerable force of the enemy, letters and orders may be despatched by expresses to the colonels of some or all of the regiments, as the occasion may require, who may immediately communicate the same to the other officers of the regiments, and they to the men of the respective companies; who are immediately to meet at their usual place of rendezvous, and from thence march to such place as the colonel shall appoint for assembling his regiment; and when all the companies are assembled, the regiment to march to such place, as the commander-in-chief shall have directed.

"That, in case of any attempt on the inhabitants of the frontiers by small parties, as the Indian custom is, the superior officers of the regiment, being well informed of the facts, may despatch away on horseback suitable bodies of active men, well acquainted with the woods, to such places or passes among the mountains, or near the conflux of rivers, by which it is probable the enemy must endeavour to make their retreat; and there to take post and lie in wait till their return, keeping proper scouts or sentinels at a distance from the body, to give notice of their approach; by which means they may be cut off, and the prisoners they take may be recovered; a few instances of which would probably much intimidate those cowardly people, and make them afraid of attempting to attack us hereafter. And that such places may be known to more people, it might be proper for the officers beforehand to make

pounders. We offer by this post £1500, this currency, for them all, and suppose we shall get them.

The insurers, in consideration of the premium of twenty per cent, engage thus; that, if the prizes arising against the tickets insured do not, one with another, make in the whole a sum equal to the first cost of the tickets, they will make up the deficiency. They now think it a disadvantageous agreement, and have left off insuring; for though they would gain, as you observe, £1000, if they insured the whole at that rate, in one lot, yet it will not be so when they insure a number of separate lots, as ten, twenty, or one hundred tickets in a lot; because the prizes, falling in one lot, do not help to make up the deficiencies in another. The person, that insured your one hundred and twenty-

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a few journeys to them, guided by Indian traders or hunters, accompanied by such of their men as would be suitable to act on occasion, and are disposed that way, observing and pointing out all the proper places for ambushes, &c. The expense of which journeys might be defrayed by the managers of the lottery.

"That, if there be certain accounts of any large body of the enemy marching towards any part of the frontiers, the colonels of the nearest frontier regiments may despatch expresses to the commander-in-chief at Philadelphia, with the vouchers of the intelligence, from whom orders may issue to raise such force as may be necessary, to march to the assistance of such threatened frontier.

"That the people on the frontiers be advised to pitch on some suitable places at proper distances, and there enclose pieces of ground with palisades or stockades, so as to make them defensible against Indians, whereto, on occasion, their wives, children, and ancient persons may retire in time of danger. In parts where there may not be had sufficient voluntary labor to erect such defences, and the neighbours, being poor, cannot bear the expense, some assistance might be obtained from the lottery managers, if another lottery should go on.

"That those managers be applied to, to offer rewards by public declaration to such as should be maimed in action, and pensions to poor widows, whose husbands should happen to fall in defence of their country.

"That a number of spades, pickaxes, shovels, &c., be provided for the city regiment, to be used by the negroes and others as pioneers for casting up sudden intrenchments on occasion."

five, did the next day give the whole premium to another with six and a quarter per cent more, to be reinsured two thirds of them. I have not insured for anybody; so I shall neither lose nor gain that way. I will send the policy, that you may see it, with the book. I am, Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO JAMES LOGAN.

Philadelphia, 30 January, 1748.

SIR,

I send you herewith the book, and enclosed is the policy. Here is no news but what is bad, namely, the taking of Mesnard, an account of which we have by way of Lisbon. He was carried into St. Malo. And just now we have advice from New York, that an express was arrived there from New England to inform the government that two prisoners, who had escaped from different parts of Canada and arrived in New England, agreed in declaring, that three thousand men were getting ready to march against Albany, which they intended to besiege and take; and that they were to be joined by a great body of Indians. They write from New York, that the advice is credited there. I wish it may not prove too true, the wretched divisions and misunderstandings among the principal men in that government giving the enemy too much encouragement and advantage.

I hope you and your good family continue well, being with sincere respect and affection, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO JAMES LOGAN.

Progress in the Erection of Batteries. — Diligence of the People in attending Military Exercises.

Philadelphia, 6 April, 1748.

SIR,

I have a letter from Mr. Samuel Laurence of New York, who undertook to ship the guns for us, informing me that two small vessels had been agreed with to bring them round; but a sloop arriving there on Sunday last, that had been chased in latitude thirty-six by a ship and brigantine, which were supposed to be the *Don Pedro* with a consort coming on this coast, the Governor and Council thought it more advisable to send them to Brunswick, which we since hear is done. Captain Wallace, a discreet old sea commander of this place, goes to-day or to-morrow to receive them there, and provide carriages to bring them to Philadelphia. The postmaster at New York, and another correspondent there, write me, that the ship seen was certainly the *Don Pedro*, the captain of the vessel chased knowing her well, having often seen her at the Havana, where he has been several voyages with a flag of truce. He was very near being taken, but escaped by favor of the night. We are glad to hear the Don is come out with one consort only, as by some accounts we apprehended he intended to bring a small fleet with him. It now looks as if his design was more against our trade than our city.

With this I send you a packet from London, and a pamphlet from Sweden, both left with me for you by the new Swedish missionary, Mr. Sandin. You must have heard that Mr. James Hamilton is appointed our governor; an event that gives us the more pleasure,

as we esteem him a benevolent and upright, as well as a sensible man. I hope he will arrive here early in the summer, and bring with him some cannon from the Proprietors. I am, Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO CADWALLADER COLDEN.

Plans for retiring from Business and declining Public Employment. — Governor Shirley. — Peter Kalm, the Swedish Botanist.

Philadelphia, 29 September, 1748.

SIR,

I received your favor of the 12th instant, which gave me the greater pleasure, as it was so long since I had heard from you. I congratulate you on your return to your beloved retirement. I, too, am taking the proper measures for obtaining leisure to enjoy life and my friends, more than heretofore, having put my printing-house under the care of my partner, David Hall, absolutely left off bookselling, and removed to a more quiet part of the town, where I am settling my old accounts, and hope soon to be quite master of my own time, and no longer, as the song has it, *at every one's call but my own.* If health continue, I hope to be able in another year to visit the most distant friend I have, without inconvenience.

With the same views I have refused engaging further in public affairs. The share I had in the late Association, &c., having given me a little present run of popularity, there was a pretty general intention of choosing me a representative of the city at the next election of Assembly men; but I have desired all my friends, who spoke to me about it, to discourage it, declaring

that I should not serve, if chosen. Thus you see am in a fair way of having no other tasks, than su as I shall like to give myself, and of enjoying what look upon as a great happiness, leisure to read, stuc make experiments, and converse at large with such i genious and worthy men, as are pleased to honor r with their friendship or acquaintance, on such poir as may produce something for the common benefit mankind, uninterrupted by the little cares and fatigu of business. Among other pleasures I promise myse that of corresponding more frequently and fully wi Dr. Colden is none of the least. I shall only wish th what must be so agreeable to me may not prove tro blesome to you.

I thank you for your kind recommending of me Mr. Osborne. Mr. Read would readily have put t books into my hands, but, it being now out of my w to dispose of them, I propose to Mr. Hall the taki of them into his shop; but he, having looked over t invoice, says they are charged so extravagantly hig that he cannot sell them for any profit to himse without hurting the character of his shop. He w however, at my request, take the copies of the Indi History and put them on sale; but the rest of the car must lie, I believe, for Mr. Osborne's further orde I shall write to him by our next vessels.

I am glad you have had an opportunity of gaini the friendship of Governor Shirley, with whom thou I have not the honor of being particularly acquainte I take him to be a wise, good, and worthy man. I is now a fellow sufferer with you, in being made t subject of some public, virulent, and senseless libe I hope they give him as little pain.

Mr. Bartram continues well. Here is a Swedi

gentleman,* a professor of botany, lately arrived, and I suppose will soon be your way, as he intends for Canada. Mr. Collinson and Dr. Mitchell recommend him to me as an ingenious man. Perhaps the enclosed (left at the post-office for you) may be from him. I have not seen him since the first day he came. I delivered yours to Mr. Evans; and, when I next see Mr. Bartram, I shall acquaint him with what you say.

I am, with great esteem and respect, dear Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO JAMES LOGAN.

Particulars respecting Peter Kalm. — Mr. Sandin, a Swedish Missionary.

Philadelphia, 30 October, 1748.

SIR,

I received your favor of the 28th, with the piece on the Generation of Plants, for which I thank you. Mr. Sandin, the Swedish missionary, who gave me Wahlboom's Oration to send you, (as he passed through this town from New York, where he just arrived, to Racoon Creek, where he was to be settled,) I have never seen since. Mr. Kalm came to see me the day he arrived, and brought me letters from Mr. Collinson and Dr. Mitchell, both recommending him. I invited him to lodge at my house, and offered him any service in my power; but I never saw him afterwards till yesterday, when he told me that he had been much in the country, and at New York, since his arrival, but

* This gentleman was Peter Kalm, the Swedish traveller, who spent some time in America making researches in Natural history, and afterwards published an account of his travels in the Swedish language. The work was translated into English.

was now come to settle in town for the winter. To-day he d'ned with me; and, as I had received yours in the morning, I took occasion to ask him if he had not yet seen Mr. Logan. He said, no; that he had once been out with his countryman, Mr. Kock, proposing to wait on you as they returned; but it proved later in the evening than they had expected, and he thought a visit then would be unseasonable, but proposed soon to pay his respects to you. Possibly he might at that time have the packet for you at Naglee's. I did not ask him about that. Inquiring of him what was become of Mr. Sandin, he told me that soon after he got to Racoon Creek, he was taken with the fever and ague, which was followed by several other disorders, that constantly harassed him, and at length carried him off, just as Kalm arrived here, who, hearing that he was dangerously ill, hurried down to see him, but found him dead.

Sandin had a family with him, and, when here, was in haste to get to his settlement, but might intend to wait on you when he should come again to Philadelphia. Kalm, I suppose, might be in haste to see as much of the country as he could, and make his journey to New York, before cold weather came on. I mention these things so particularly, that you may see you have not been purposely avoided by both these gentlemen, as you seem to imagine. I did not let Kalm know that you had mentioned him to me in your letter. I shall write to Mr. Hugh Jones, as you desire. I am, Sir, &c. B. FRANKLIN.*

* The following extracts from letters written by James Logan to Peter Collinson are interesting, as showing both the estimation in which Franklin was held by those who were best acquainted with him, and the literary ardor of the writer. The library, which he mentions, now constitutes a part of the celebrated LOGANIAN LIBRARY in Philadelphia.

"Benjamin Franklin has been here to-day, to show me some new cu

TO MRS. ABIAH FRANKLIN, AT BOSTON.

Family Incidents.

Philadelphia, 7 September, 1749.

HONORED MOTHER,

We received your kind letter by this post, and are glad you still continue to enjoy such a share of health.

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riosities in electricity, but the weather was too warm and moist. I have seen his manuscript to thee, and to Dr. Mitchell, of the cause of thunder gusts and lightning, which I must approve, notwithstanding my piece in the Transactions; but these last causes are also true.

"Our library-keepers have from our Proprietors these several presents; — a fine air-pump from John Penn; and from Thomas a whole apparatus for electricity; and thyself every now and then sends them some odd thing or other. But I wish thou wouldest do something of the same kind for pay, and not otherwise for me, who have a much more valuable library, containing considerably above two hundred volumes in Greek, in folio; all the old Roman classics, without exception; all the old Greek mathematicians, as Apollonius, Euclid, and Ptolemy, both his Geography and Almagest, which I had in Greek from my friend J. Alb. Fabricius, who published fourteen volumes of his Greek *Bibliotheca* in quarto. After he had done with Ptolemy, he told me, when I had wrote to him at Hamburg to inform me when I could possibly have it, that it was so scarce, that it was "*nec prece nec pretio parabilis*"; and yet he sent it to me in 1722, with Theon's *Commentaries* on it, of above seven hundred pages in folio, as I have said, all in Greek. I have a great many other later mathematicians, as Newton's three editions, Wallis's History, &c.; and, having built a room for a library of sixty-four feet in length, I design to give the same, under certain limitations, to the public. This library, with thirty-five pounds sterling yearly settled on my librarian, of which he is to lay out yearly eighteen pounds sterling to purchase more books, will cost me about two thousand pounds sterling; and all this to force the public into a humor to acquaint themselves with literature." — *July 1st*, 1749.

Again; "Our most ingenious printer and post-master, Benjamin Franklin, has the clearest understanding, with as extreme modesty as any man I know here. Thou hast seen several of his pieces on electricity, wherein he almost excels you all." — *October 20th.*

A few extracts from short notes, written by Franklin to James Logan, will indicate the books they read, and the subjects to which their thoughts were turned, at this time.

"I send you herewith the late Voyage for the Discovery of the North-

Cousin Josiah and his spouse arrived hearty and well last Saturday noon. I met them the evening before at Trenton, thirty miles off, and accompanied them to town. They went into their own house on Monday, and I believe will do very well, for he seems bent on industry, and she appears a discreet, notable young woman. My wife has been to see them every day, calling in as she passes by; and I suspect has fallen

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west Passage, which I hope may afford you some entertainment. If you have the Journal of the French Academicians to Lapland, I should be glad to see it." — *November 7th*, 1748.

"I send you the third and fourth volumes of the Harleian Miscellany, and also what I have of Mattaire's Classics. I think I promised to send you something else, but have forgotten what it was. You complain of the decay of your memory, but mine is a miserable one, and never was good. I thank you for your favor in lending me Marchetti's *Lucrezio* and Smith's Travels, which I shall take care duly to return." — *May 19th*, 1749.

"For the reason you mention, I am of the same opinion, that Dr. Free has not considered the Picts' language as you have done, but imagines with other writers that the Pict nation was totally destroyed and its language with it." — *September 18th*.

"I send you herewith a new French piece on electricity, in which you will find a journal of experiments on a paralytic person. I also send Neal on Electricity, and the last Philosophical Transactions, in which you will find some other pieces on the same subject. If you should desire to see any of the experiments mentioned in those pieces repeated, or if any new ones should occur to you to propose, which you cannot well try yourself, when I come to fetch the apparatus they may be tried. I shall be glad to hear that the shocks had some good effect on your disordered side." — *December 16th*.

"I send the Dialogues on Education, which I ascribed to Hutcheson, but am since informed they were wrote by Mr. Forbes, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Aberdeen; the same who wrote the Inquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer. I also send Milton." — *December 17th*.

"I send Whiston's Life. He seems to me to have been a man of great industry and little prudence. I have been lame these two weeks past, but am now so much better, that I think I shall be able to wait on you next week with Mr. Kalm. We had a very bright appearance of the Aurora Borealis last night. When I have the pleasure of seeing you, I shall give you a full account of the affairs of the Academy, which go on with all the success that could be expected." — *February 17th*.

in love with our new cousin; for she entertains me a deal, when she comes home, with what cousin Sally does, and what cousin Sally says, what a good contriver she is, and the like.

I believe it might be of service to me, in the matter of getting in my debts, if I were to make a voyage to London; but I have not yet determined on it in my own mind, and think I am grown almost too lazy to undertake it.

The Indians are gone homewards loaded with presents. In a week or two the treaty with them will be printed, and I will send you one. My love to brother and sister Mecom, and to all inquiring friends. I am your dutiful son, B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. ABIAH FRANKLIN.

Yellow Fever in Philadelphia.

Philadelphia, 16 October, 1749.

HONORED MOTHER,

This has been a busy day with your daughter, and she is gone to bed much fatigued and cannot write.

I send you enclosed one of our new Almanacs. We print them early, because we send them to many places far distant. I send you also a moidore enclosed, which please to accept towards chaise hire, that you may ride warm to meetings this winter. Pray tell us what kind of a sickness you have had in Boston this summer. Besides the measles and flux, which have carried off many children, we have lost some grown persons, by what we call the *Yellow Fever;* though that is almost, if not quite over, thanks to God, who has preserved all our family in perfect health.

Here are cousins Coleman, and two Folgers, all well.

Your granddaughter is the greatest lover of her book and school, of any child I ever knew, and is very dutiful to her mistress as well as to us.

I doubt not but brother Mecom will send the collar, as soon as he can conveniently. My love to him, sister, and all the children. I am your dutiful son.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. ABIAH FRANKLIN.

Private Affairs and Family Incidents.

[Date uncertain.]

HONORED MOTHER,

We received your kind letter of the 2d instant, by which we are glad to hear you still enjoy such a measure of health, notwithstanding your great age. We read your writing very easily. I never met with a word in your letters but what I could easily understand; for, though the hand is not always the best, the sense makes every thing plain. My leg, which you inquire after, is now quite well. I shall keep these servants; but the man not in my own house. I have hired him out to the man, that takes care of my Dutch printing-office, who agrees to keep him in victuals and clothes, and to pay me a dollar a week for his work. The wife, since that affair, behaves exceeding well; but we conclude to sell them both the first good opportunity, for we do not like negro servants. We got again about half what we lost.

As to your grandchildren, Will is now nineteen years of age, a tall proper youth, and much of a beau. He acquired a habit of idleness on the Expedition,* but

* His son, William, had been an officer in the Pennsylvania forces raised for an expedition against Canada, in the year 1746.

begins of late to apply himself to business, and I hope will become an industrious man. He imagined his father had got enough for him, but I have assured him that I intend to spend what little I have myself, if it please God that I live long enough; and, as he by no means wants acuteness, he can see by my going on, that I mean to be as good as my word.

Sally grows a fine girl, and is extremely industrious with her needle, and delights in her work. She is of a most affectionate temper, and perfectly dutiful and obliging to her parents, and to all. Perhaps I flatter myself too much, but I have hopes that she will prove an ingenious, sensible, notable, and worthy woman, like her aunt Jenny. She goes now to the dancing-school.

For my own part, at present, I pass my time agreeably enough. I enjoy, through mercy, a tolerable share of health. I read a great deal, ride a little, do a little business for myself, now and then for others, retire when I can, and go into company when I please; so the years roll round, and the last will come, when I would rather have it said, *He lived usefully*, than *He died rich.*

Cousins Josiah and Sally are well, and I believe will do well, for they are an industrious loving young couple; but they want a little more stock to go on smoothly with their business.

My love to brother and sister Mecom, and their children, and to all my relations in general. I am your dutiful son, B. FRANKLIN.

FROM CADWALLADER COLDEN TO B. FRANKLIN.

Instructers in Colleges and their Location. — Subjects to be studied. — The Learned Languages.

Coldenham, November, 1749.

SIR,

I received, by the last opportunity from New York, the proposals relating to the education of youth in Pennsylvania. I have read them with much pleasure, and heartily wish the gentlemen success, that are endeavouring to promote so useful a design. I have no objection to any thing in the proposals. I am pleased with every part of them. Though I do not pretend to have my thoughts so well digested as yours are, who have applied yourself particularly to the subject, (for, from your generous attempts on several other occasions for the good of your country, I take you to be principally the author of that performance,) yet I believe you will not be displeased with any hints, which may come from others, though in themselves but trivial, when compared with the greatness of the subject.

While you keep the great end of education in view, that is, to enable men and incline them to be more useful to mankind in general, and to their own country in particular, and at the same time to render their own life more happy, you cannot be in danger of taking wrong steps, while all of them tend to that end. But I think one of the principal things for this purpose will be in the choice of the trustees, and of the rector who is to oversee the masters and scholars, and direct both their lessons and studies; and, in this choice, as great a regard must be had to the heart as the head. Such a person will find so much employment for every hour in life, that he will have no time to take care

of his own private affairs, and therefore it will be necessary that he should have so much encouragement by a proper salary, as to make him easy in this respect; and it may not be amiss for him to have likewise a small gratuity from every scholar, that, as his care may increase the number of scholars and the number will increase his trouble, so he may find some benefit to himself in it. I do not think it proper, that his whole subsistence should depend upon such gratuity, because that might make him too dependent on the humors of the scholars or their parents. It seems to me, that the least part of his encouragement should come that way. But, as to the masters or teachers, the greatest part may come from the rewards they are to receive from the scholars, as this is likely to make them the more assiduous; and, while they are under the direction of the rector and trustees, I can see no inconvenience likely to happen by it.

I am pleased with your mentioning agriculture as one of the sciences to be taught, because I am of opinion it may be made as much a science as any of those that are not purely mathematical; and none of them deserves so much to be taught as this, at least none more, since it is truly the foundation of the wealth and welfare of the country, and it may be personally useful to a greater number than any of the other sciences. For this reason there should be a professor on purpose, who should likewise have a contingent allowance given him for making experiments, and to correspond with noted farmers for his information.

For this purpose, and for several other reasons, I am of opinion the college would do best in the country, at a distance from the city.

The scholars would thus be freed from many temptations to idleness, and some worse vices, that they

must meet with in the city, and it might be an advantage to many children to be at a distance from their parents. The chief objection to the college being in the country is, that the scholars cannot acquire that advantage of behaviour and address, which they would by a more general conversation with gentlemen. But this may be remedied by obliging them to use the same good manners towards one another, with a proper regard to their several ranks, as is used among well-bred gentlemen, and by having them taught dancing and other accomplishments, an easy carriage and address in company, and other exercises usually taught to gentlemen. Their being obliged to declaim, or dispute, or act plays, may take off that bashfulness, which frequently gives scholars an awkwardness on their first appearance in public; and, as no doubt they must be allowed to go to the city sometimes, I am of opinion the disadvantages from the country are rather less than may arise from the college being in or near the town.

It is a common opinion, that the power and strength of a nation consist in its riches and money. No doubt money can do great things; but I think the power of a nation consists in the knowledge and virtue of its inhabitants, and, in proof of this, history shows us that the richest nations, abounding most in silver and gold, have been generally conquered by poor, but, in some sense, virtuous nations. If riches be not accompanied with virtue, they on that very account expose a nation to ruin, by their being a temptation for others to invade them, while luxury, the usual consequence of riches, makes them an easy prey.

I would not oblige all the students to learn Latin and Greek. I would be so far from making the knowledge of those languages, or of any foreign language,

a condition of the scholar's being admitted into the college, that I would have all the sciences taught in English. It would be of greater service to the generality of the scholars, to have the most eminent English authors, both in prose and verse, explained to them by showing the beauties and energy of our own language, than to have the learned languages taught to them, who afterwards in their course of life perhaps may never make use of them. Nevertheless, they, who are designed for the learned professions of Divinity, Law, and Physic, ought to understand the learned languages; and merchants and others, who may have business with other nations, ought to understand the French at least; but in all cases our own language ought to be our principal care. I am, &c.

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

TO SAMUEL JOHNSON.*

Value of Education in promoting the Strength of a State and the Virtue of the People. — Increase of Congregations in Churches.

Philadelphia, 23 August, 1750.

DEAR SIR,

We received your favor of the 16th instant. Mr. Peters will hardly have time to write to you by this post, and I must be short. Mr. Francis spent the last evening with me, and we were all glad to hear, that you

* This letter was first printed in the PORT FOLIO in the year 1809. The following notice is there prefixed to it. "Dr. Samuel Johnson was the first President of King's (now Columbia) College, New York, the venerable father of the Episcopal Church of Connecticut, and the apostle of sound learning and elegant literature in New England. It appears to have been written at the time of the first establishment of the College of Philadelphia, the presidency of which institution had been offered to

seriously meditate a visit after the middle of next month, and that you will inform us by a line when to expect you. We drank your health and Mrs. Johnson's, remembering your kind entertainment of us at Stratford.

I think with you, that nothing is of more importance for the public weal, than to form and train up youth in wisdom and virtue. Wise and good men are, in my opinion, the strength of a state; much more so than riches or arms, which, under the management of ignorance and wickedness, often draw on destruction, instead of providing for the safety of the people. And though the culture bestowed on *many* should be successful only with a *few*, yet the influence of those few and the service in their power may be very great. Even a single woman, that was wise, by her wisdom saved the city.

I think also, that general virtue is more probably to be expected and obtained from the education of youth, than from the exhortation of adult persons; bad habits and vices of the mind being, like diseases of the body, more easily prevented than cured. I think, moreover, that talents for the education of youth are the gift of God; and that he on whom they are bestowed, whenever a way is opened for the use of them, is as strongly *called* as if he heard a voice from heaven; nothing more surely pointing out duty in a public service, than ability and opportunity of performing it.

I have not yet discoursed with Dr. Jenney concerning your removal hither. You have reason, I own, to

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Dr. Johnson. This offer he declined, on account of a similar and more advantageous one from New York. A very well written life of Dr. Johnson, by Dr. Chandler, was published some years ago, containing, besides many curious anecdotes of the history and early literature of our country, a very interesting series of correspondence between Dr. Johnson and Archbishop Secker, Bishops Lowth, Berkeley, and Gibson, and several other distinguished dignitaries of the Church of England."

doubt whether your coming on the foot I proposed would not be disagreeable to him, though I think it ought not; for, should his particular interest be somewhat affected by it, that ought not to stand in competition with the *general good;* especially as it cannot be much affected, he being old, and rich, and without children. I will however learn his sentiments before the next post. But, whatever influence they might have on your determination about removing, they need have none on your intention of visiting; and if you favor us with the visit, it is not necessary that you should previously write to him to learn his disposition about your removal; since you will see him, and, when we are all together, those things may be better settled in conversation than by letters at a distance.

Your tenderness of the Church's peace is truly laudable; but, methinks, to build a new church in a growing place is not properly *dividing* but *multiplying;* and will really be the means of increasing the number of those, who worship God in that way. Many, who cannot now be accommodated in the church, go to other places, or stay at home; and, if we had another church, many, who go to other places or stay at home, would go to church. I suppose the interest of the church has been far from suffering in Boston by the building of two churches there in my memory. I had for several years nailed against the wall of my house a pigeon-box, that would hold six pair; and, though they bred as fast as my neighbours' pigeons, I never had more than six pair, the old and strong driving out the young and weak, and obliging them to seek new habitations. At length I put up an additional box with apartments for entertaining twelve pair more; and it was soon filled with inhabitants, by the overflowing of my first box, and of

others in the neighbourhood. This I take to be a parallel case with the building a new church here.

Your years I think are not so many as to be an objection of any weight, especially considering the vigor of your constitution. For the smallpox, if it should spread here, you might inoculate with great probability and safety; and I think that distemper generally more favorable here than farther northward. Your objection about the politeness of Philadelphia, and your imagined rusticity, is mere compliment; and your diffidence of yourself absolutely groundless.

My humble respects, if you please, to your brethren at the Commencement. I hope they will advise you to what is most for the good of the whole, and then I think they will advise you to remove hither. Please to tender my best respects and service to Mrs. Johnson and your son. I am, dear Sir, your obliged and affectionate humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO JARED ELIOT.

Mr. Collinson. — Agricultural Remarks. — Philadelphia Academy. — Barometer, Thermometer, and Hygrometer. — Ingenious Defence of Self-applause.

Philadelphia, 12 September 1751.

DEAR SIR,

I received your favor of last month, with the twelve Essays. The Collinson you mention is the same gentleman I correspond with. He is a most benevolent, worthy man, very curious in botany and other branches of natural history, and fond of improvements in agriculture, &c. He will be pleased with your acquaintance. In the late Philosophical Transactions, you may

see frequently papers of his, or letters that were directed to him, on various subjects. He is a member of the Royal Society.

An ingenious acquaintance of mine here, Mr. Hugh Roberts, one of our most eminent farmers, tells me, that it appears by your writings, that your people are yet far behind us in the improvement of swamps and meadows. I am persuading him to send you such hints as he thinks may give you farther insight into that matter. But in other respects he greatly esteems your pieces. He says they are preferable to any thing of late years published on that subject in England. The late writers there chiefly copy from one another, and afford very little new or useful; but you have collected experiences and facts, and make propositions, that are reasonable and serviceable. You have taught him, he says, to clear his meadows of elder (a thing very pernicious to banks), which was before beyond the art of all our farmers; and given him several other useful informations.

I am exceedingly obliged to you for the plan and directions concerning ditching. It is very satisfactory, and I hope will be useful here.

Our Academy flourishes beyond expectation. We have now above one hundred scholars, and the number is daily increasing. We have excellent masters at present; and, as we give pretty good salaries, I hope we shall always be able to procure such. We pay the Rector, who teaches Latin and Greek, per annum £200
The English master, ... £150
The Mathematical professor, ... £125
Three assistant tutors each £60 = ... £180

Total per annum £655

Our currency is something better than that of New York. The scholars pay each £4 per annum.

The changes of the barometer are most sensible in high latitudes. In the West India Islands the mercury continues at the same height with very little variation the year round. In these latitudes, the alterations are not frequently so great as in England. Thermometers are often badly made. I had three that differed widely from each other, though hung in the same place. As to hygrometers, there is no good one yet invented. The cord is as good as any; but, like the rest, it grows continually less sensible by time, so that the observations of one year cannot be compared with those of another by the same instrument. I will think of what you hint concerning the hydrostatic balance.

What you mention concerning the love of praise is indeed very true; it reigns more or less in every heart; though we are generally hypocrites, in that respect, and pretend to disregard praise, and our nice, modest ears are offended, forsooth, with what one of the ancients calls *the sweetest kind of music.* This hypocrisy is only a sacrifice to the pride of others, or to their envy; both which, I think, ought rather to be mortified. The same sacrifice we make, when we forbear to *praise ourselves*, which naturally we are all inclined to; and I suppose it was formerly the fashion, or Virgil, that courtly writer, would not have put a speech into the mouth of his hero, which now-a-days we should esteem so great an indecency;

"Sum pius Æneas, ...
. . . . . famâ super æthera notus."

One of the Romans, I forget who, justified speaking in his own praise by saying, *Every freeman had a right to speak what he thought of himself, as well as of others.* That this is a natural inclination appears in that all children show it, and say freely, *I am a good boy; Am I not a good girl?* and the like, till they have been

frequently chid, and told their trumpeter is dead; and that it is unbecoming to sound their own praise, &c. But *naturam expellas furcâ, tamen usque recurret.* Being forbid to praise themselves, they learn instead of it to censure others; which is only a roundabout way of praising themselves; for condemning the conduct of another, in any particular, amounts to as much as saying, *I am so honest, or wise, or good, or prudent, that I could not do or approve of such an action.* This fondness for ourselves, rather than malevolence to others, I take to be the general source of censure and backbiting; and I wish men had not been taught to dam up natural currents, to the overflowing and damage of their neighbours' grounds.

Another advantage, methinks, would arise from freely speaking our good thoughts of ourselves, viz. if we were wrong in them, somebody or other would readily set us right; but now, while we conceal so carefully our vain, erroneous self-opinions, we may carry them to our grave, for who would offer physic to a man that seems to be in health? And the privilege of recounting freely our own good actions might be an inducement to the doing of them, that we might be enabled to speak of them without being subject to be justly contradicted or charged with falsehood; whereas now, as we are not allowed to mention them, and it is an uncertainty whether others will take due notice of them or not, we are perhaps the more indifferent about them; so that, upon the whole, I wish the out-of-fashion practice of praising ourselves would, like other old fashions, come round into fashion again. But this I fear will not be in our time, so we must even be contented with what little praise we can get from one another. And I will endeavour to make you some amends for the trouble of reading this long scrawl, by telling you, that I have the

sincerest esteem for you, as an ingenious man and a good one, which together make the valuable member of society. As such, I am with great respect and affection, dear Sir, your obliged humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. JANE MECOM.

Philadelphia, 24 October, 1751.

DEAR SISTER,

My son waits upon you with this, whom I heartily recommend to your motherly care and advice. He is indeed a sober and discreet lad of his years, but he is young and unacquainted with the ways of your place. My compliments to my new niece, Miss Abiah, and pray her to accept the enclosed piece of gold, to cut her teeth; it may afterwards buy nuts for them to crack.

Some time since I sent a letter to your care for our cousin at Casco Bay. Have you had an opportunity to forward it? My love to brother Mecom and your children; and to brother and sister Davenport and children; and respects to Mrs. Billings and her daughter, and all other friends, from, dear sister, your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO JARED ELIOT.

John Bartram. — Importance of Instruction in Public Speaking.

Philadelphia, 24 December, 1751.

DEAR SIR,

I wrote you at large by my son, in answer to your former favors, and sent you an extract from Mr. Collinson's letter, who much admires your Tracts on Husbandry. Herewith you will receive a manuscript of a

friend of Mr. Collinson's, and a printed book; which you may keep till spring, and then return it to me. I believe they will afford you pleasure.

I send you also enclosed a letter from my friend John Bartram, whose Journal you have read.* He corresponds with several of the greatest naturalists in Europe, and will be proud of an acquaintance with you. I make no apologies for introducing him to you; for, though a plain and illiterate man, you will find he has merit. And, since for want of skill in agriculture I cannot converse with you pertinently on that valuable subject, I am pleased that I have procured you two correspondents who can.

I am glad you have introduced English declamation into your College.† It will be of great service to the youth, especially if care is taken to form their pronunciation on the best models. Mr. Whittlesey, who was lately here, will tell you, that we have little boys under seven, who can deliver an oration with more propriety than most preachers. It is a matter that has been too much neglected. I am, dear Sir, yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO JARED ELIOT.

On his Agricultural Essays.

Philadelphia, 11 February, 1752.

DEAR SIR,

I received your favor by my son, and return my thanks for your kind entertainment of him at your house. I delivered yours to my friend Bartram, and enclose to

* Mr. Bartram's "Observations made in his Travels from Pennsylvania to Canada" had lately been published in London.

† Yale College.

you his answer. He is much pleased with the prospect of a continued correspondence with you. He is a man of no letters, but a curious observer of nature.

I like very well the paragraph you propose to insert, concerning Mr. Jackson's papers; except the last line, to wit, "The improvement of it must be deferred till another year;" instead of which I would say, *It cannot now be inserted, but shall be in our next.* My reasons are, that I think, in the first place, your Essays ought to be more frequent than once a year; next, that it is pity, if Mr. Jackson's papers would be advantageous to the public, a whole year's benefit of them should be lost; thirdly, I think he will be at a loss to know why, since your Essay was not quite finished and published, his papers might not as well have been added now; and indeed I think you had best add them, unless you intend speedily another Essay. Lastly, I object to the word *improvement*, which, in the sense you use it, is peculiar to New England, and will not be understood elsewhere. It will look as if you proposed to alter it for the better, correct, or amend it, such being the common meaning of the word *improve.*

Every colony has some peculiar expressions, familiar to its own people, but strange and unintelligible to others. This is not to be wondered at, since the same may be observed in the different counties of England. I know you will excuse this freedom, and that I need make no apology for it. I am, with great respect, dear Sir, &c. B. Franklin.

TO CADWALLADER COLDEN.

Intercession for a Printer, who had offended the Governor of New York.

Philadelphia, 14 May, 1752.

SIR,

I find P—— has been indiscreet enough to print a piece in his paper, which has brought him into a great deal of trouble. I cannot conceive how he was prevailed on to do it, as I know him to be a thorough believer himself, and averse to every thing that is commonly called *freethinking*. He is now much in his penitentials, and requests me to intercede with you, to procure from the governor a *Nol. Pros.* in his favor, promising to be very circumspect and careful for the future, not to give offence either in religion or politics, to you or any of your friends, in which, I believe, he is very sincere.

I have let him know, that I pretend to no interest with you, and I fear he has behaved to the governor and to you in such a manner, as not to deserve your favor. Therefore I only beg leave to recommend the poor man's case to your consideration; and, if you could, without inconvenience to your own character, interest yourself a little in his behalf. I shall, as I am much concerned for him, esteem it a very great obligation.

As to the cause of religion, I really think it will be best served by stopping the prosecution: for, if there be any evil tendency apprehended from the publication of that piece, the trial and punishment of the printer will certainly make it a thousand times more public, such is the curiosity of mankind in these cases. It is, besides, an old thing, has been printed before both in England and by Andrew Bradford here: nor, no public

notice being taken of it, it died and was forgotten, as I believe it would now be, if treated with the same indifference. I am with great respect, &c.

B FRANKLIN.

TO EDWARD AND JANE MECOM.

Death of his Mother. — Consolations in Affliction. — Acquiescence in the Dispensations of Providence.

Philadelphia, 21 May, 1752.

DEAR BROTHER AND SISTER,

I received yours with the affecting news of our dear good mother's death. I thank you for your long continued care of her in her old age and sickness. Our distance made it impracticable for us to attend her, but you have supplied all. She has lived a good life, as well as a long one, and is happy.*

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* At another time he wrote to his sister, who was in affliction; — "The longer we live we are exposed to more of these strokes of Providence; but, though we consider them as such, and know it is our duty to submit to the Divine will, yet, when it comes to our turn to bear what so many millions before us have borne, and so many millions after us must bear, we are apt to think our case particularly hard. Consolations, however kindly administered, seldom afford us any relief. Natural affections will have their course, and time proves our best comforter. This I have experienced myself; and, as I know your good sense has suggested to you, long before this time, every argument, motive, and circumstance, that can tend in any degree to relieve your grief, I will not by repeating them renew it.

"I am pleased to find, that, in your troubles, you do not overlook the mercies of God, and that you consider as such the children, that are still spared to you. This is a right temper of mind, and must be acceptable to that beneficent Being, who is in various ways continually showering down his blessings upon many, that receive them as things of course, and feel no grateful sentiments arising in their hearts on the enjoyment of them."

Again he wrote; — "There are objections to the doctrine of preëxistence. But it seems to have been invented with a good intention, to save the honor of the Deity, which was thought to be injured by the

Since I sent you the order on Mr. Huske, I have received his account, and find he thinks he has money to receive, and, though I endeavour by this post to convince him he is mistaken, yet possibly he may not be immediately satisfied, so as to pay that order; therefore, lest the delay should be inconvenient to you, I send the six pistoles enclosed. But, if the order is paid, give those to brother John, and desire him to credit my account with them. Your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO EDWARD AND JANE MECOM.

On the Establishing of his Nephew as a Printer in Antigua.

Philadelphia, 14 November, 1752.

DEAR BROTHER AND SISTER,

Benny sailed from hence this day two weeks, and left our Capes the Sunday following. They are seldom above three weeks on the voyage to Antigua.

That island is reckoned one of the healthiest in the West Indies. My late partner there enjoyed perfect

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supposition of his bringing creatures into the world to be miserable, without any previous misbehaviour of theirs to deserve it. This, however, is perhaps an officious supporting of the ark, without being called to such service. Where he has thought fit to draw a veil, our attempt to remove it may be called at least an offensive impertinence. And we shall probably succeed little better in such an adventure to gain forbidden knowledge, than our first parents did when they ate the apple.

"I meant no more by saying mankind were all devils to one another, than that, being in general superior to the malice of other creatures, they were not so much tormented by them as by themselves. Upon the whole, I am much disposed to like the world as I find it, and to doubt my own judgment as to what would mend it. I see so much wisdom, as to what I understand of its creation and government, that I suspect equal wisdom may be in what I do not understand. And thence I have perhaps as much trust in God, as the most pious Christian."

health for four years, till he grew careless, and got to sitting up late in taverns, which I have cautioned Benny to avoid, and have given him all other necessary advice I could think of, relating both to his health and conduct, and I hope for the best.

He will find the business settled to his hand; a newspaper established, no other printing-house to interfere with him, or beat down his prices, which are much higher than we get on the continent. He has the place on the same terms with his predecessor, who, I understand, cleared from five to six hundred pistoles during the four years he lived there. I have recommended him to some gentlemen of note for their patronage and advice.

Mr. Parker, though he looked on Benny as one of his best hands, readily consented to his going, on the first mention of it. I told him Benny must make him satisfaction for his time. He would leave that to be settled by me, and Benny as readily agreed with me to pay Mr. Parker as much as would hire a good journeyman in his room. He came handsomely provided with apparel, and I believe Mr. Parker has, in every respect, done his duty by him, and, in this affair, has really acted a generous part; therefore I hope, if Benny succeeds in the world, he will make Mr. Parker a return beyond what he has promised. I suppose you will not think it amiss to write Mr. and Mrs. Parker a line or two of thanks; for, notwithstanding some little differences, they have on the whole been very kind to Benny.

We have vessels going very frequently from this port to Antigua. You have some too from your port. What letters you send this way, I will take care to forward. Antigua is the seat of government for all the Leeward Islands, to wit, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and

Montserrat. Benny will have the business of all those islands, there being no other printer.

After all, having taken care to do *what appears to be for the best*, we must submit to God's providence, which orders all things really for the best.

While Benny was here, and since, our Assembly was sitting, which took up my time, and I could not before write you so fully.

With love to your children, I am, dear brother and sister your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO CADWALLADER COLDEN.

Concerning Papers on Electricity. — Abbé Nollet. — Dalibard.

Philadelphia, 1 January, 1753.

DEAR SIR,

I have your favor of the third past, with your son's remarks on the Abbé Nollet's *Letters*.* I think the experiments and observations are judiciously made, and so well expressed, that, with your and his leave, I would transmit them to Mr. Collinson for publication. I have repeated all the Abbé's experiments *in vacuo*, and find them answer exactly as they should do on my principles, and in the material part quite contrary to what he has related of them; so that he has laid himself extremely open, by attempting to impose false accounts of experiments on the world, to support his doctrine.

M. Dalibard wrote to me that he was preparing an answer, that would be published the beginning of this winter; but, as he seems to have been imposed on by

* See these *Remarks*, by David Colden, in Vol. V. p. 319.

the Abbé's confident assertion, that a charged bottle set down on an electric *per se* is deprived of its electricity, and in his letter to me attempts to account for it, I doubt he is not yet quite master enough of the subject to do the business effectually. So I conclude to write a civil letter to the Abbé myself, in which, without resenting any thing in his letters, I shall endeavour to set the disputed matters in so clear a light, as to satisfy every one that will take the trouble of reading it. Before I send it home, I shall communicate it to you, and take your friendly advice on it. I set out to-morrow on a journey to Maryland, where I expect to be some weeks, but shall have some leisure when I return. At present, I can only add my thanks to your ingenious son, and my hearty wishes of a happy new year to you, and him, and all yours. I am, Sir, &c. B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. I wrote to you last post, and sent my paper on the *Increase of Mankind.* I send the Supplemental Electrical Experiments in several fragments of letters, of which Cave* has made the most, by printing some of them twice over.

* The bookseller in London, who first published Franklin's papers on electricity. See these *Experiments*, Vol. V. p. 253.

TO WILLIAM SMITH.

*Respecting the new Academy, which had lately been established in Philadelphia.**

Philadelphia, 19 April, 1753

SIR,

I received your favor of the 11th instant, with your new piece on *Education*,† which I shall carefully peruse, and give you my sentiments of it, as you desire, by next post.

I believe the young gentlemen, your pupils, may be entertained and instructed here, in mathematics and philosophy to satisfaction. Mr. Alison,‡ who was educated at Glasgow, has been long accustomed to teach the latter, and Mr. Grew § the former, and I think their pupils make great progress. Mr. Alison has the care of the Latin and Greek school; but, as he has now three good assistants, || he can very well afford some

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* As early as 1743, Franklin had endeavoured to procure the establishment of an Academy in Philadelphia. His efforts were not successful till 1749, when, chiefly through his instrumentality, the Academy was instituted and went into operation. Franklin was chosen the first president of the Board of Trustees. From this institution arose, first the College of Philadelphia, and afterwards the present University of Pennsylvania. The Reverend William Smith was appointed Provost of the Academy in 1754, and he filled that office, with distinguished reputation, at the head of the Academy and College successively, for the period of thirty-seven years, till the University was founded in 1791. A full account of these institutions, in their various stages, may be seen in "WOOD's History of the University of Pennsylvania," contained in the third volume of the *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.*

† A General Idea of the College of Mirania. — STUBER.

‡ The Rev. Francis Alison, afterwards Vice-Provost of the College in Philadelphia. — STUBER.

§ Theophilus Grew, afterwards Professor of Mathematics in the College. — STUBER.

|| Those assistants were at that time Charles Thomson, afterwards Secretary of Congress, Paul Jackson, and Jacob Duché. — STUBER.

hours every day for the instruction of those, who are engaged in higher studies. The mathematical school is pretty well furnished with instruments. The English Library is a good one, and we have belonging to it a middling apparatus for experimental philosophy, and purpose speedily to complete it. The Loganian Library, one of the best collections in America, will shortly be opened; so that neither books nor instruments will be wanting; and, as we are determined always to give good salaries, we have reason to believe we may have always an opportunity of choosing good masters; upon which, indeed, the success of the whole depends. We are obliged to you for your kind offers in this respect; and, when you are settled in England, we may occasionally make use of your friendship and judgment.

If it suits your conveniency to visit Philadelphia, before your return to Europe, I shall be extremely glad to see and converse with you here, as well as to correspond with you after your settlement in England. For an acquaintance and communication with men of learning, virtue, and public spirit, is one of my greatest enjoyments.

I do not know whether you ever happened to see the first proposals I made for erecting this Academy. I send them enclosed. They had, however imperfect, the desired success, being followed by a subscription of *four thousand pounds* towards carrying them into execution. And, as we are fond of receiving advice, and are daily improving by experience, I am in hopes we shall, in a few years, see a *perfect institution.* I am, very respectfully, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO WILLIAM SMITH.

Critical Remarks on his Scheme of Education.

Philadelphia, 3 May, 1753.

SIR,

Mr. Peters has just now been with me, and we have compared notes on your new piece. We find nothing in the scheme of education, however excellent, but what is, in our opinion, very practicable. The great difficulty will be, to find the Aratus,* and other suitable persons, to carry it into execution; but such may be had if proper encouragement be given. We have both received great pleasure in the perusal of it. For my part, I know not when I have read a piece that has more affected me; so noble and just are the sentiments, so warm and animated the language; yet, as censure from your friends may be of more use, as well as more agreeable to you, than praise, I ought to mention, that I wish you had omitted, not only the quotation from the Review,† which you are now justly dissatisfied with, but those expressions of resentment against your adversaries, in pages 65 and 79. In such cases, the noblest victory is obtained by neglect, and by shining on.

Mr. Allen has been out of town these ten days; but, before he went, he directed me to procure him six copies of your piece. Mr. Peters has taken ten.

* The name given to the principal or head of the ideal college the system of education in which has nevertheless been nearly realized, or followed as a model, in the College and Academy of Philadelphia, and some other American seminaries, for many years past. — STUBER.

† The quotation alluded to (from the "London Monthly Review" for 1749) was judged to reflect too severely on the discipline and government of the English Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and was expunged from the following editions of this work. — STUBER

He purposed to have written to you, but omits it, as he expects so soon to have the pleasure of seeing you here. He desires me to present his affectionate compliments to you, and to assure you that you will be very welcome to him. I shall only say, that you may depend on my doing all in my power to make your visit to Philadelphia agreeable to you. I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO PETER COLLINSON.

Poverty and Idleness. — Difficulty of Instructing the Indians in the Arts of Civilized Life. — Condition and Character of the Germans in Pennsylvania.

Philadelphia, 9 May, 1753.

SIR,

I thank you for the kind and judicious remarks you have made on my little piece. I have often observed with wonder that temper of the poorer English laborers which you mention, and acknowledge it to be pretty general. When any of them happen to come here, where labor is much better paid than in England, their industry seems to diminish in equal proportion. But it is not so with the German laborers; they retain the habitual industry and frugality they bring with them, and, receiving higher wages, an accumulation arises that makes them all rich. When I consider, that the English are the offspring of Germans, that the climate they live in is much of the same temperature, and when I see nothing in nature that should create this difference, I am tempted to suspect it must arise from the constitution; and I have sometimes doubted whether the laws peculiar to England, which *compel the rich to maintain the poor*, have not given the latter a dependence, that very much lessens the care of providing against the wants of old age.

I have heard it remarked that the poor in Protestant countries, on the continent of Europe, are generally more industrious than those of Popish countries. May not the more numerous foundations in the latter for relief of the poor have some effect towards rendering them less provident? To relieve the misfortunes of our fellow creatures is concurring with the Deity; it is godlike; but, if we provide encouragement for laziness, and support for folly, may we not be found fighting against the order of God and nature, which perhaps has appointed want and misery as the proper punishments for, and cautions against, as well as necessary consequences of, idleness and extravagance? Whenever we attempt to amend the scheme of Providence, and to interfere with the government of the world, we had need be very circumspect, lest we do more harm than good. In New England they once thought blackbirds useless, and mischievous to the corn. They made efforts to destroy them. The consequence was, the blackbirds were diminished; but a kind of worm, which devoured their grass, and which the blackbirds used to feed on, increased prodigiously; then, finding their loss in grass much greater than their saving in corn, they wished again for their blackbirds.

We had here some years since a Transylvanian Tartar, who had travelled much in the East, and came hither merely to see the West, intending to go home through the Spanish West Indies, China, &c. He asked me one day, what I thought might be the reason, that so many and such numerous nations, as the Tartars in Europe and Asia, the Indians in America. and the Negroes in Africa, continued a wandering, careless life, and refused to live in cities, and cultivate the arts they saw practised by the civilized parts of mankind? While I was considering what answer to make him

he said, in his broken English, "God make man for Paradise. He make him for live lazy. Man make God angry. God turn him out of Paradise, and bid workee. Man no love workee; he want to go to Paradise again; he want to live lazy. So all mankind love lazy." However this may be, it seems certain that the hope of becoming at some time of life free from the necessity of care and labor, together with fear of penury, are the main springs of most people's industry. To those, indeed, who have been educated in elegant plenty, even the provision made for the poor may appear misery; but to those who have scarce ever been better provided for, such provision may seem quite good and sufficient. These latter, then, have nothing to fear worse than their present condition, and scarce hope for any thing better than a parish maintenance. So that there is only the difficulty of getting that maintenance allowed while they are able to work, or a little shame they suppose attending it, that can induce them to work at all; and what they do, will only be from hand to mouth.

The proneness of human nature to a life of ease, of freedom from care and labor, appears strongly in the little success that has hitherto attended every attempt to civilize our American Indians. In their present way of living, almost all their wants are supplied by the spontaneous productions of nature, with the addition of very little labor, if hunting and fishing may indeed be called labor, where game is so plenty. They visit us frequently, and see the advantages that arts, sciences, and compact societies procure us. They are not deficient in natural understanding; and yet they have never shown any inclination to change their manner of life for ours, or to learn any of our arts. When an Indian child has been brought up among us, taught

our language, and habituated to our customs, yet, if he goes to see his relatives, and makes one Indian ramble with them, there is no persuading him ever to return. And that this is not natural to them merely as Indians, but as men, is plain from this, that when white persons, of either sex, have been taken prisoners by the Indians, and lived awhile with them, though ransomed by their friends, and treated with all imaginable tenderness to prevail with them to stay among the English, yet in a short time they become disgusted with our manner of life, and the care and pains that are necessary to support it, and take the first opportunity of escaping again into the woods, from whence there is no redeeming them. One instance I remember to have heard, where the person was brought home to possess a good estate; but, finding some care necessary to keep it together, he relinquished it to a younger brother, reserving to himself nothing but a gun and a match-coat, with which he took his way again into the wilderness.

So that I am apt to imagine that close societies, subsisting by labor and art, arose first not from choice but from necessity, when numbers, being driven by war from their hunting grounds, and prevented by seas, or by other nations, from obtaining other hunting grounds, were crowded together into some narrow territories, which without labor could not afford them food. However, as matters now stand with us, care and industry seem absolutely necessary to our well-being. They should therefore have every encouragement we can invent, and not one motive to diligence be subtracted; and the support of the poor should not be by maintaining them in idleness, but by employing them in some kind of labor suited to their abilities of body, as I am informed begins to be of late the prac-

tice in many parts of England, where workhouses are erected for that purpose. If these were general, I should think the poor would be more careful, and work voluntarily to lay up something for themselves against a rainy day, rather than run the risk of being obliged to work at the pleasure of others for a bare subsistence, and that too under confinement.

The little value Indians set on what we prize so highly, under the name of learning, appears from a pleasant passage that happened some years since, at a treaty between some colonies and the Six Nations. When every thing had been settled to the satisfaction of both sides, and nothing remained but a mutual exchange of civilities, the English Commissioners told the Indians that they had in their country a college for the instruction of youth, who were there taught various languages, arts, and sciences; that there was a particular foundation in favor of the Indians to defray the expense of the education of any of their sons, who should desire to take the benefit of it; and said, if the Indians would accept the offer, the English would take half a dozen of their brightest lads, and bring them up in the best manner. The Indians, after consulting on the proposals, replied, that it was remembered, that some of their youths had formerly been educated at that college, but that it had been observed that for a long time after they returned to their friends, *they were absolutely good for nothing;* being neither acquainted with the true methods of killing deer, catching beavers, or surprising an enemy. The proposition they looked on, however, as a mark of kindness and good will of the English to the Indian nations, which merited a grateful return; and therefore, if the English gentlemen would send a dozen or two of their children to Onondago, the Great Council would take care of their edu-

cation, bring them up in what was really the best manner, and make men of them.

I am perfectly of your mind, that measures of great temper are necessary with the Germans; and am not without apprehensions, that, through their indiscretion, or ours, or both, great disorders may one day arise among us. Those who come hither are generally the most stupid of their own nation, and, as ignorance is often attended with credulity when knavery would mislead it, and with suspicion when honesty would set it right; and as few of the English understand the German language, and so cannot address them either from the press or the pulpit, it is almost impossible to remove any prejudices they may entertain. Their clergy have very little influence on the people, who seem to take a pleasure in abusing and discharging the minister on every trivial occasion. Not being used to liberty, they know not how to make a modest use of it. And as Kolben says of the young Hottentots, that they are not esteemed men until they have shown their manhood by *beating their mothers*, so these seem not to think themselves free, till they can feel their liberty in abusing and insulting their teachers. Thus they are under no restraint from ecclesiastical government; they behave, however, submissively enough at present to the civil government, which I wish they may continue to do, for I remember when they modestly declined intermeddling in our elections, but now they come in droves and carry all before them, except in one or two counties.

Few of their children in the country know English. They import many books from Germany; and of the six printing-houses in the province, two are entirely German, two half German half English, and but two entirely English. They have one German newspaper;

and one half-German. Advertisements, intended to be general, are now printed in Dutch and English. The signs in our streets have inscriptions in both languages, and in some places only German. They begin of late to make all their bonds and other legal instruments in their own language, which (though I think it ought not to be) are allowed good in our courts, where the German business so increases, that there is continued need of interpreters; and I suppose in a few years they will also be necessary in the Assembly, to tell one half of our legislators what the other half say.

In short, unless the stream of their importation could be turned from this to other colonies, as you very judiciously propose, they will soon so outnumber us, that all the advantages we have, will, in my opinion, be not able to preserve our language, and even our government will become precarious. The French, who watch all advantages, are now themselves making a German settlement, back of us, in the Illinois country, and by means of these Germans they may in time come to an understanding with ours; and, indeed, in the last war, our Germans showed a general disposition, that seemed to bode us no good. For, when the English, who were not Quakers, alarmed by the danger arising from the defenceless state of our country, entered unanimously into an association, and within this government and the Lower Counties raised, armed, and disciplined near ten thousand men, the Germans, except a very few in proportion to their number, refused to engage in it, giving out, one amongst another, and even in print, that, if they were quiet, the French, should they take the country, would not molest them; at the same time abusing the Philadelphians for fitting out privateers against the enemy, and representing the trouble, hazard, and expense of defending the province, as a greater incon-

venience than any that might be expected from a change of government. Yet I am not for refusing to admit them entirely into our Colonies. All that seems to me necessary is, to distribute them more equally, mix them with the English, establish English schools, where they are now too thick settled; and take some care to prevent the practice, lately fallen into by some of the ship-owners of sweeping the German gaols to make up the number of their passengers. I say, I am not against the admission of Germans in general, for they have their virtues. Their industry and frugality are exemplary. They are excellent husbandmen; and contribute greatly to the improvement of a country.

I pray God to preserve long to Great Britain the English laws, manners, liberties, and religion. Notwithstanding the complaints so frequent in your public papers, of the prevailing corruption and degeneracy of the people, I know you have a great deal of virtue still subsisting among you; and I hope the constitution is not so near a dissolution, as some seem to apprehend. I do not think you are generally become such slaves to your vices, as to draw down the *justice* Milton speaks of, when he says, that —— *

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* This letter was first printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1834, as contained in the Diary of Mr. Thomas Green. The person who communicated it to the *Magazine* says the original manuscript, from which he transcribed the letter, ends thus abruptly, and that the remainder could not be recovered. He conjectures, that the words of Milton, alluded to by the writer, are the following.

> "Yet sometimes nations will decline so low
> From virtue, which is reason, that no wrong,
> But justice, and some fatal curse annex'd,
> Deprives them of their outward liberty,
> Their inward lost."
>
> *Paradise Lost*, xii. 97.

TO GEORGE WHITEFIELD.*

Motives with which Benefits should be conferred. — Faith and Good Works. — Example of Christ.

Philadelphia, 6 June, 1753.

SIR,

I received your kind letter of the 2d instant, and am glad to hear that you increase in strength; I hope you will continue mending, till you recover your former health and firmness. Let me know whether you still use the cold bath, and what effect it has.

As to the kindness you mention, I wish it could have been of more service to you. But if it had, the only thanks I should desire is, that you would always be equally ready to serve any other person that may need your assistance, and so let good offices go round; for mankind are all of a family.

For my own part, when I am employed in serving others, I do not look upon myself as conferring favors, but as paying debts. In my travels, and since my settlement, I have received much kindness from men, to whom I shall never have any opportunity of making

* During Whitefield's several visits to America, a close intimacy and attachment existed between him and Franklin, many particulars of which may be seen in the autobiography contained in the first volume of this work. In writing to his brother, August 6th, 1747, he said, "I am glad that Mr. Whitefield is safe arrived, and recovered his health. He is a good man, and I love him." The above letter has often been printed, and always, I believe, as having been written to Whitefield; but among the author's manuscripts I find the first draft, with the following indorsement, in Franklin's handwriting; "*Letter to Joseph Huey.*" I know not how to explain this circumstance, nor is it of much importance, since the value of the letter consists in the matter it contains, and not in the name or character of the person for whom it was intended.

the least direct return; and numberless mercies from God, who is infinitely above being benefited by our services. Those kindnesses from men, I can therefore only return on their fellow men, and I can only show my gratitude for these mercies from God, by a readiness to help his other children and my brethren. For I do not think, that thanks and compliments, though repeated weekly, can discharge our real obligations to each other, and much less those to our Creator. You will see in this my notion of good works, that I am far from expecting to merit heaven by them. By heaven we understand a state of happiness, infinite in degree, and eternal in duration. I can do nothing to deserve such rewards. He that, for giving a draft of water to a thirsty person, should expect to be paid with a good plantation, would be modest in his demands, compared with those who think they deserve heaven for the little good they do on earth. Even the mixed, imperfect pleasures we enjoy in this world, are rather from God's goodness than our merit; how much more such happiness of heaven! For my part I have not the vanity to think I deserve it, the folly to expect it, nor the ambition to desire it; but content myself in submitting to the will and disposal of that God who made me, who has hitherto preserved and blessed me, and in whose fatherly goodness I may well confide, that he will never make me miserable; and that even the afflictions I may at any time suffer shall tend to my benefit.

The faith you mention has certainly its use in the world. I do not desire to see it diminished, nor would I endeavour to lessen it in any man. But I wish it were more productive of good works, than I have generally seen it; I mean real good works; works of kindness, charity, mercy, and public spirit; not holiday-

keeping, sermon-reading or hearing; performing church ceremonies, or making long prayers, filled with flatteries and compliments, despised even by wise men, and much less capable of pleasing the Deity. The worship of God is a duty; the hearing and reading of sermons may be useful; but, if men rest in hearing and praying, as too many do, it is as if a tree should value itself on being watered and putting forth leaves, though it never produced any fruit.

Your great master thought much less of these outward appearances and professions, than many of his modern disciples. He preferred the *doers* of the word, to the mere *hearers;* the son that seemingly refused to obey his father, and yet performed his commands, to him that professed his readiness, but neglected the work; the heretical but charitable Samaritan, to the uncharitable though orthodox priest and sanctified Levite; and those who gave food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, raiment to the naked, entertainment to the stranger, and relief to the sick, though they never heard of his name, he declares shall in the last day be accepted; when those who cry Lord! Lord! who value themselves upon their faith, though great enough to perform miracles, but have neglected good works, shall be rejected. He professed, that he came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance; which implied his modest opinion, that there were some in his time so good, that they need not hear even him for improvement;* but now-a-days we have scarce a

* In all the printed copies which I have seen, this passage is found as follows; — "which implied his modest opinion, that there were some in his time, *who thought themselves* so good, that they need not hear even him for improvement." The words here Italicized are not contained in the original draft. They must, of course, have been interpolated by some later hand. The sense evidently requires that they should be omitted.

little parson, that does not think it the duty of every man within his reach to sit under his petty ministrations; and that whoever omits them offends God.

I wish to such more humility, and to you health and happiness, being your friend and servant,

B. FRANKLIN.*

TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

Treaty with the Indians. — Their Complaints.

Philadelphia, 18 October, 1753.

DEAR SIR,

I recollect that I promised to send you Dr. Brownrigg's Treatise on Common Salt. You will receive it herewith. I hope it may be of use in the affair of your fishery. Please to communicate it to Captain Erwin, Mr. Pitts, Mr. Boutineau, or any other of your friends, who may be desirous of seeing it.

Since my return from Boston, I have been to our western frontiers on a treaty with the Ohio Indians. They complained much of the abuses they suffer from our traders, and earnestly requested us to put the trade under some regulation. If you can procure and send me your truckhouse law, and a particular account of the manner of executing it, with its consequences, &c., so that we may have the benefit of your experience,

* Soon after writing this letter, Franklin set out on a tour to New England. In writing from Boston, July 16th, to his friend Hugh Roberts, he said; "I have had a delightful journey hither, and have felt but one hot day since my arrival. On the road I often thought of you, and wished for your company, as I passed over some of the best *punning* ground perhaps in the universe. My respects to Mrs. Roberts, and to all our old friends of the JUNTO, Hospital, and Insurance. I purpose to set out on my return in about ten days." Mr. Roberts, it seems, excelled in the art of punning, some amusing specimens of which are found in his letters to Franklin.

you will much oblige me; and if you have found it a useful law, I am in hopes we shall be induced to follow your good example.*

My compliments to Mrs. Bowdoin and all inquiring friends. With much respect and esteem, I am, dear Sir, &c. B. FRANKLIN.

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* Mr. Bowdoin replied as follows, in a letter dated at Boston, November 12th. — "Our Indians formerly (as yours now) made great complaints of the abuses they suffered from private traders, which induced the government to erect truckhouses for them; where they have since been supplied with the goods they wanted in a much better manner both in regard of the quality and price of them, and with more certainty than the private traders could. The government used to put an advance on the goods supplied, but now they let the Indians have them in the small quantities they want at the same rate they are purchased here in the wholesale way, and allow them for their peltry what it sells for here; and, notwithstanding, they are frequently complaining about the prices of the exchanged commodities, and say that the French supply them at a cheaper rate, and allow them more for their skins than we do; but some allowance is to be made for this account of theirs.

"The best method we can go into, is to supply them with what they want at the cheapest rate possible, which will not only undermine the French trade with them, but in proportion thereto bring them into our interest and friendship against the French; for trade and commerce between nation and nation, especially when carried on to mutual advantage, have a natural tendency to beget and confirm a mutual and lasting friendship. Another good effect of this method is, that it prevents the Indians from being concerned with private traders; for, not being able to supply them at so low a rate as the government, the Indians will not trade with them, and it is therefore a more effectual bar against private trade, than all the laws that can be invented.

"Our truckhouses are built in form of a square, each side one hundred and fifty feet or more, at each corner a flanker, in which is a couple of cannon; three sides of the square are built upon to accommodate the garrison and for storehouses, the whole being surrounded with palisades."

TO CADWALLADER COLDEN.

Indian Affairs. — Abbé Nollet's Book, and Dalibard's Answer.

Philadelphia, 25 October, 1753.

SIR,

This last summer, I have enjoyed very little of the pleasure of reading or writing. I made a long journey to the eastward, which consumed ten weeks; and two journeys to our western frontier. One of them, to meet and hold a treaty with the Ohio Indians, in company with Mr. Peters and Mr. Norris.* I shall send you a copy of that treaty, as soon as it is published. I should be glad to know whether the Act, mentioned in your "History of the Five Nations," to prevent the people of New York from supplying the French with Indian goods, still subsists, and is duly executed.†

I left your book with Mr. Bowdoin, in Boston. I hope you will hear from him this winter. I observed extracts from it in all the Magazines, and in the *Monthly Review*, but I see no observations on it. I send

* This treaty, or rather conference, was held at Carlisle, in Pennsylvania, with deputies from several tribes of western Indians. See SPARKS's *Life of Washington*, 2d edition, p. 25.

† To this inquiry Mr. Colden replied, November 19th. — "We have at present no law in this province for restraining the trade to Canada, except that by which a duty is laid on Indian goods sold out of the city of Albany, and applied for support of the garrison at Oswego. It is certain, that a very considerable trade is carried on between Albany and Canada by means of the Caghnawaga, or French Indians, all of them deserters from the Five Nations. When I was last at Albany there were at least two hundred of them, stout young fellows, at one time in the town. The Indians have passports from the governor of Canada, and I therefore conclude that this trade is thought beneficial to the French interest, and it may be a great inducement to our Indians to desert, by the benefit they receive from it; for none are allowed to be the carriers between Albany and Canada, but French Indians."

you herewith Nollet's book. M. Dalibard writes me, that he is just about to publish an answer to it, which, perhaps, may save me the trouble.

I hope soon to find time to finish my new Hypothesis of Thunder and Lightning, which I shall immediately communicate to you. I sent you, by our friend Bartram, some meteorological conjectures for your amusement. When perused, please to return them, as I have no copy.* With sincere esteem and respect, I am, dear Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO WILLIAM SMITH.

Concerning the Academy.

Philadelphia, 27 November, 1753.

DEAR SIR,

Having written to you fully, via Bristol, I have now little to add. Matters relating to the Academy remain *in statu quo.* The trustees would be glad to see a rector established there, but they dread entering into new engagements, till they are got out of debt; and I have not yet got them wholly over to my opinion, that a good professor, or teacher of the higher branches of learning, would draw so many scholars as to pay great part, if not the whole of his salary. Thus, unless the Proprietors of the province shall think fit to put the finishing hand to our institution, it must, I fear, wait some few years longer, before it can arrive at that state of perfection, which to me it seems now capable of; and all the pleasure I promised myself in seeing you settled among us vanishes into smoke.

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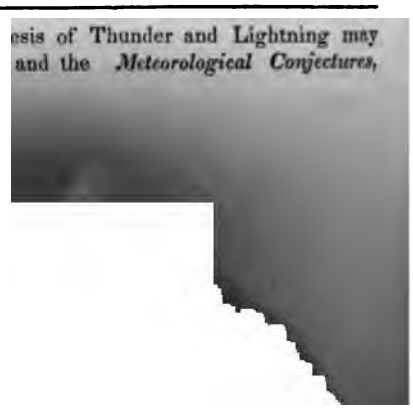
* The abo[illegible] be seen in V[illegible] v. in Vol. VI.



But good Mr. Collinson writes me word, that no endeavours of his shall be wanting; and he hopes, with the Archbishop's assistance, to be able to prevail with our Proprietors.* I pray God grant them success. My son presents his affectionate regards, with, dear Sir, yours, &c. B. FRANKLIN.

TO CADWALLADER COLDEN.

Regulation of Trade with the Indians.

Philadelphia, 6 December, 1753.

DEAR SIR,

I received your favor of the 19th past, with some remarks on my meteorological paper, for which I thank you and return some observations on those remarks, hoping by this friendly intercourse of sentiments and objections some advantage will arise, to the increase of true knowledge.†

I sent you our treaty some time since. You will find very little in it; but I have hopes it will introduce a regulation of our Indian trade, by the government taking it in hand, and furnishing the Indians with goods at the cheapest rate without aiming at profit, as is done by Massachusetts; by which means I think we must vastly undersell the French, and thereby attach the Indians more firmly to the British interest.

Mr. Collinson certainly received your answer to Kastner. I think one of his letters to me mentions it.

* Upon the application of Archbishop Herring and Peter Collinson, at Dr. Franklin's request, (aided by the letters of Mr. Allen and Mr. Peters,) Thomas Penn subscribed an annual sum, and afterwards gave at least £5000, to the founding or engrafting the College upon the Academy. — STUBER.

† For the *Remarks* here mentioned, and the *Observations* on them, see Vol. VI. pp. 177, 180.

I send you herewith a copy of my paper on the *Increase of Mankind;* the only one I have, so must request you to return it. That on the *Air*, &c., is what you have already seen. The third mentioned to you by Mr. Collinson, concerning the Germans, is scarcely worth sending. It will contain nothing new to you.*

I congratulate you on Lord Halifax's approbation of your conduct in public affairs. From such a man the honor is great, and the satisfaction; but the approbation of your own mind is something more valuable in itself, and it is what I doubt not you will always enjoy.

I should like to see Pike's book† some time or other, when you can conveniently send it. With great respect and esteem, I am, Sir, &c.

B. Franklin.

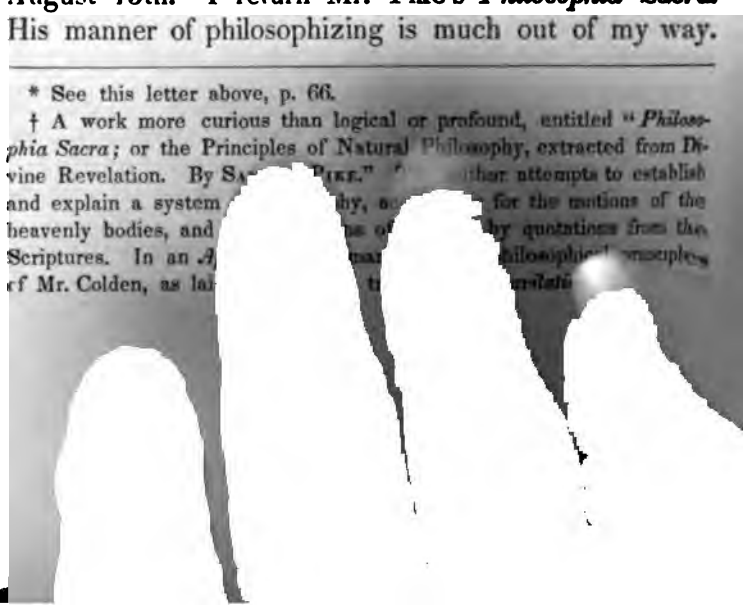
TO CADWALLADER COLDEN.

Remarks on the Plan of a Union of the Colonies.— Beccaria's Work on Electricity.

Philadelphia, 30 August, 1754

Dear Sir,

I have now before me your favors of July 23d, and August 15th. I return Mr. Pike's *Philosophia Sacra.* His manner of philosophizing is much out of my way.



* See this letter above, p. 66.

† A work more curious than logical or profound, entitled "*Philosophia Sacra;* or the Principles of Natural Philosophy, extracted from Divine Revelation. By Sa[illegible] Pike." [illegible] other attempts to establish and explain a system [illegible] by, a[illegible] for the motions of the heavenly bodies, and [illegible] by quotations from the Scriptures. In an *A*[illegible] philosophical principles of Mr. Colden, as lai[illegible] relati[illegible]

I am now about to proceed on my eastern journey, but hope to be at home in the winter, the best season for electrical experiments, when I will gladly make any you desire. In the mean time I should be glad if you would communicate the thoughts you mention, that I may consider them. If you please, direct them to me at Boston.

There must, I think, be some mistake in what you mention, of my having sent to Mr. Collinson the paper you wrote me on water-spouts. I have the original now by me, and cannot recollect that I ever copied it, or that I ever communicated the contents of it to Mr. Collinson or any one. Indeed I have long had an intention of sending him all I have wrote, and all I have received from others on this curious subject, without mentioning names; but it is not yet done.

Our Assembly were not inclined to show any approbation of the plan of union; yet I suppose they will take no steps to oppose its being established by the government at home. Popular elections have their inconveniencies in some cases; but, in establishing new forms of government, we cannot always obtain what we may think the best; for the prejudices of those concerned, if they cannot be removed, must be in some degree complied with. However, I am of opinion, that when troops are to be raised in America, the officers appointed must be men they know and approve, or the levies will be made with more difficulty, and at much greater expense.*

It is not to be expected, that a Quaker Assembly will establish any but Quaker schools; nor will they

* The author had recently returned from the Convention at Albany, where he had proposed his celebrated *Plan of Union*. This Plan, and Mr. Colden's remarks on some parts of it, may be found in Volume III. pp. 22 - 55.

ever agree to a tax for the payment of any clergy. It is intended by the Society, that the schoolmasters among the Germans shall teach English.

I am glad the representation is agreeable to your sentiments. The letter to Lord Halifax I suppose your son sends from New York.

Since my return I have received from Italy a book in quarto, entitled "*Dell' Elettricismo Artificiale e Naturale Libri Due, di Giovambattista Beccaria de' CC. RR. delle Scuole Pie,*" printed at Turin, and dedicated to the King. The author professedly goes on my principles; he seems a master of method, and has reduced to systematic order the scattered experiments and positions delivered in my paper. At the end of the first book, there is a letter addressed to the Abbé Nollet, in which he answers some of the Abbé's principal objections. This letter being translated into French, I send you the translation for your perusal, and will send you the Italian book itself by some future opportunity, if you desire it. It pleases me the more, in that I find the author has been led by sundry observations and experiments, though different from mine, to the same strange conclusion, viz. *that some thunderstrokes are from the earth upwards;* in which I feared I should for some time have been singular.

With the greatest esteem and regard I am, dear Sir, &c. B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. Please to send me the French piece by the first opportunity, after you have perused it, directed to me at Boston.

TO MISS CATHERINE RAY, AT BLOCK ISLAND.

Philadelphia, 4 March, 1755.

DEAR KATY,

Your kind letter of January 20th is but just come to hand, and I take this first opportunity of acknowledging the favor. It gives me great pleasure to hear, that you got home safe and well that day. I thought too much was hazarded, when I saw you put off to sea in that very little skiff, tossed by every wave. But the call was strong and just, a sick parent. I stood on the shore, and looked after you, till I could no longer distinguish you, even with my glass; then returned to your sister's, praying for your safe passage. Towards evening all agreed that you must certainly be arrived before that time, the weather having been so favorable; which made me more easy and cheerful, for I had been truly concerned for you.

I left New England slowly, and with great reluctance. Short day's journeys, and loitering visits on the road, for three or four weeks, manifested my unwillingness to quit a country, in which I drew my first breath, spent my earliest and most pleasant days, and had now received so many fresh marks of the people's goodness and benevolence, in the kind and affectionate treatment I had everywhere met with. I almost forgot I had a *home*, till I was more than half way towards it; till I had, one by one, parted with all my New England friends, and was got into the western borders of Connecticut, among mere strangers. Then, like an old man, who, having buried all he loved in this world, begins to think of heaven, I began to think of and wish for home; and, as I drew nearer, I found the attraction stronger and stronger. My diligence and speed increased with my impatience. I drove on vio-

lently, and made such long stretches, that a very few days brought me to my own house, and to the arms of my good old wife and children, where I remain, thanks to God, at present well and happy.

Persons subject to the *hyp* complain of the northeast wind, as increasing their malady. But since you promised to send me kisses in that wind, and I find you as good as your word, it is to me the gayest wind that blows, and gives me the best spirits. I write this during a northeast storm of snow, the greatest we have had this winter. Your favors come mixed with the snowy fleeces, which are pure as your virgin innocence, white as your lovely bosom, and — as cold. But let it warm towards some worthy young man, and may Heaven bless you both with every kind of happiness.

I desired Miss Anna Ward to send you over a little book I left with her, for your amusement in that lonely island. My respects to your good father, and mother, and sister. Let me often hear of your welfare, since it is not likely I shall ever again have the pleasure of seeing you. Accept mine, and my wife's sincere thanks for the many civilities I receive from you and your relations; and do me the justice to believe me, dear girl, your affectionate, faithful friend, and humble servant, B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. My respectful compliments to your good brother Ward, and sister; and to the agreeable family of the Wards at Newport, when you see them. Adieu.

TO JARED ELIOT.

State of the Army. — Mitchell's Map. — John Bartram.

Philadelphia, 31 August, 1755.

DEAR FRIEND,

I have been employed almost all this summer in the service of an unfortunate army, and other public affairs, that have brought me greatly in arrear with my correspondents. I have lost the pleasure of conversing with them, and I have lost my labor. I wish these were the only losses of the year; but we have lost a number of brave men, and all our credit with the Indians. I fear these losses may soon be productive of more and greater.

I have had no opportunity of making the inquiry you desired relating to Leonard. Somerset County in Maryland is one hundred and fifty miles from hence, and out of the common road of travellers or the post; nor have I any correspondent or acquaintance there. But now, while I am writing, I recollect a friend I have at Newtown within fifty miles of Somerset, who has a very general knowledge of those parts and of the people, as he practises the law in all the counties on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. I will immediately write to him about it.

I am sorry your newspapers miscarry. If your riders are not more careful, I must order them to be changed. The Mitchell, who made the map, is our Dr. Mitchell. I send you one of Evans's new maps, which I imagine will be agreeable to you. Please to accept it. I am glad to hear your son has acquired the art of making steel. I hope it will prove profitable. Mr. Roberts is pleased that you so kindly accept his fork and rake. I suppose he will write to you; but he is a man of

much business, and does not love writing. I shall learn once more (for he told me once and I have forgotten it) how those teeth are put in, and send you word; but perhaps our friend Bartram can tell you. He delivers you this, and I need not recommend him to you, for you are already acquainted with his merit, though not with his face and person. You will have a great deal of pleasure in one another's conversation. I wish I could be within hearing, but that cannot be. He is upon one of his rambles in search of knowledge, and intends to view both your seacoast and back country.

Remember me kindly to Mr. Tufts and Mr. Ruggles when you see them. My respects to your good lady and family. With the greatest esteem, I am, dear Sir, your most affectionate, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO JARED ELIOT.

Introducing Mr. Bartram and Mr. Alison.

Philadelphia, 1 September, 1755.

DEAR SIR,

I wrote to you yesterday, and now I write again. You will say, *It can't rain, but it pours;* for I not only send you *manuscript* but *living* letters. The *former* may be short, but the *latter* will be longer and yet more agreeable. Mr. Bartram I believe you will find to be at least twenty folio pages, large paper well filled, on the subjects of botany, fossils, husbandry, and the first creation. This Mr. Alison is as many or more on agriculture, philosophy, your own catholic divinity, and various other points of learning equally useful and engaging. Read them both. It will take you at least a

week; and then answer, by sending me two of the like kind, or by coming yourself. If you fail of this, I shall think I have overbalanced my epistolary account, and that you will be in my debt as a correspondent for at least twelve months to come.

I remember with pleasure the cheerful hours I enjoyed last winter in your company, and would with all my heart give any ten of the thick old folios that stand on the shelves before me, for a *little book* of the stories you then told with so much propriety and humor. Adieu, my dear friend, and believe me ever yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MISS CATHERINE RAY.

Philadelphia, 11 September, 1755.

Begone, business, for an hour, at least, and let me chat a little with my Katy.

I have now before me, my dear girl, three of your favors, viz. of March the 3d, March the 30th, and May the 1st. The first I received just before I set out on a long journey, and the others while I was on that journey, which held me near six weeks. Since my return, I have been in such a perpetual hurry of public affairs of various kinds, as renders it impracticable for me to keep up my private correspondences, even those that afforded me the greatest pleasure.

You ask in your last, how I do, and what I am doing, and whether everybody loves me yet, and why I make them do so.

In regard to the first, I can say, thanks to God, that I do not remember I was ever better. I still relish all the pleasures of life, that a temperate man

can in reason desire, and through favor I have them all in my power. This happy situation shall continue as long as God pleases, who knows what is best for his creatures, and I hope will enable me to bear with patience and dutiful submission any change he may think fit to make, that is less agreeable. As to the second question, I must confess (but don't you be jealous), that many more people love me now, than ever did before; for, since I saw you, I have been enabled to do some general services to the country, and to the army, for which both have thanked and praised me, and say they love me. They say so, as you used to do; and if I were to ask any favors of them, they would, perhaps, as readily refuse me; so that I find little real advantage in being beloved, but it pleases my humor.

Now it is near four months since I have been favored with a single line from you; but I will not be angry with you, because it is my fault. I ran in debt to you three or four letters; and, as I did not pay, you would not trust me any more, and you had some reason. But, believe me, I am honest; and, though I should never make equal returns, you shall see I will keep fair accounts. Equal returns I can never make, though I should write to you by every post; for the pleasure I receive from one of yours is more than you can have from two of mine. The small news, the domestic occurrences among our friends, the natural pictures you draw of persons, the sensible observations and reflections you make, and the easy, chatty manner in which you express every thing, all contribute to heighten the pleasure; and the more as they remind me of those hours and miles, that we talked away so agreeably, even in a winter journey, a wrong road, and a soaking shower.

I long to hear whether you have continued ever since in that monastery;* or have broke into the world again, doing pretty mischief; how the lady Wards do, and how many of them are married, or about it; what is become of Mr. B—— and Mr. L——, and what the state of your heart is at this instant? But that, perhaps, I ought not to know; and, therefore, I will not conjure, as you sometimes say I do. If I could conjure, it should be to know what was that *oddest question about me that ever was thought of*, which you tell me a lady had just sent to ask you.

I commend your prudent resolutions, in the article of granting favors to lovers. But, if I were courting you, I could not hardly approve such conduct. I should even be malicious enough to say you were too *knowing*, and tell you the old story of the Girl and the Miller. I enclose you the songs you write for, and with them your Spanish letter with a translation. I honor that honest Spaniard for loving you. It showed the goodness of his taste and judgment. But you must forget him, and bless some worthy young Englishman.

You have spun a long thread, five thousand and twenty-two yards. It will reach almost from Rhode Island hither. I wish I had hold of one end of it, to pull you to me. But you would break it rather than come. The cords of love and friendship are longer and stronger, and in times past have drawn me farther; even back from England to Philadelphia. I guess that some of the same kind will one day draw you out of that Island.

I was extremely pleased with the ——— you sent me. The Irish people, who have seen it, say it is

* Block Island.

the right sort; but I cannot learn that we have any thing like it here. The cheeses, particularly one of them, were excellent. All our friends have tasted it, and all agree that it exceeds any English cheese they ever tasted. Mrs. Franklin was very proud, that a young lady should have so much regard for her old husband, as to send him such a present. We talk of you every time it comes to table. She is sure you are a sensible girl, and a notable housewife, and talks of bequeathing me to you as a legacy; but I ought to wish you a better, and hope she will live these hundred years; for we are grown old together, and if she has any faults, I am so used to them that I don't perceive them; as the song says,

"Some faults we have all, and so has my Joan,
But then they 're exceedingly small;
And, now I 'm grown used to them, so like my own,
I scarcely can see them at all,
My dear friends,
I scarcely can see them at all."*

Indeed, I begin to think she has none, as I think of you. And since she is willing I should love you, as much as you are willing to be loved by me, let us join in wishing the old lady a long life and a happy.

* The author here quotes a stanza from one of his own "Songs," written for the JUNTO. The objects of the JUNTO seem to have been as various as the characters of its members. It was originally formed for mutual improvement in knowledge and intellectual culture, by conversations and discussions suited to that design. See Vol. II. pp. 9, 551 But the members sometimes relaxed themselves with less grave entertainments. The following song was composed by Franklin for one of their meetings. It has been printed in Professor McVickar's *Life of Dr. Samuel Bard.*

MY PLAIN COUNTRY JOAN; A SONG.

"Of their Chloes and Phyllises poets may prate,
I sing my plain country Joan,
These twelve years my wife, still the joy of my life,
Blest day that I made her my own.

With her respectful compliments to you, to your good mother and sisters, present mine, though unknown; and believe me to be, dear girl, your affectionate friend and humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. Sally says, "Papa, my love to Miss Katy."—If it was not quite unreasonable, I should desire you to write to me every post, whether you hear from me

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"Not a word of her face, of her shape, or her air,
Or of flames, or of darts, you shall hear;
I beauty admire, but virtue I prize,
That fades not in seventy year.

"Am I loaded with care, she takes off a large share,
That the burden ne'er makes me to reel;
Does good fortune arrive, the joy of my wife
Quite doubles the pleasure I feel.

"She defends my good name, even when I 'm to blame
Firm friend as to man e'er was given;
Her compassionate breast feels for all the distressed,
Which draws down more blessings from heaven.

"In health a companion delightful and dear,
Still easy, engaging, and free;
In sickness no less than the carefulest nurse,
As tender as tender can be.

"In peace and good order my household she guides,
Right careful to save what I gain;
Yet cheerfully spends, and smiles on the friends
I 've the pleasure to entertain.

"Some faults have we all, and so has my Joan,
But then they 're exceedingly small,
And, now I 'm grown used to them, so like my own,
I scarcely can see them at all.

"Were the finest young princess, with millions in purse
To be had in exchange for my Joan,
I could not get better wife, might get a worse.
So I 'll stick to my dearest old Joan.'

or not. As to your spelling, don't let those laughing girls put you out of conceit with it. It is the best in the world, for every letter of it stands for something.

FROM WILLIAM SHIRLEY TO B. FRANKLIN.

Applauds his Service to the Public in aiding Braddock's Expedition.

Oswego, 17 September, 1755.

SIR,

I have just received your two favors of the 1st and 4th of September. In answer to the former, I enclose to you a copy of a paragraph in my letter to Colonel Dunbar upon that subject.

As to the affair of the wagons and horses, which you engaged for the use of the late General Braddock's army, I think it of the utmost consequence that all such engagements or contracts for the public service should be most punctually complied with; and, had I known the circumstances of this, I should before now have enabled you to make good those you entered into, by the late General's order, for the expedition to the Ohio; not only because common justice demands it, but that such public spirited services deserve the highest encouragement. I now write to Governor Morris to appoint three good men to liquidate and adjust those accounts, and shall direct Mr. Johnson, the paymaster, immediately to pay what they report to be due for that service, according to the enclosed warrant.

Though I am at present engaged in a great hurry of business, being to move from hence in a very few days for Niagara, I cannot conclude without assuring you, that I have the highest sense of your public ser-

vices in general, and particularly that of engaging those wagons, without which General Braddock could not have proceeded. I am, with great esteem, &c.*

W. SHIRLEY.

TO WILLIAM SHIRLEY.

Thanks, and Proffers of Service.

Philadelphia, 23 October, 1755.

SIR,

I beg leave to return your Excellency my most sincere and hearty thanks for your letter of the 17th of September, with the orders for the payment of wagon owners, and an extract of your orders to Colonel Dunbar, forbidding the enlistment of servants and apprentices. Acts of justice so readily done become great favors, which I hope will be ever gratefully acknowledged by this people in actions as well as words.

I have also your favor of the 5th instant. Governor Morris is gone to Newcastle, to meet the Assembly of

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* At this time General Shirley was Governor of Massachusetts. He was with the army at Oswego, as commander-in-chief of his Majesty's forces in America. It appears, that he never entirely fulfilled the good intentions expressed in this letter. In his autobiography, Dr. Franklin gives a particular account of the services he rendered to General Braddock, in procuring horses and wagons for his expedition. He expended, of his own money, upwards of a thousand pounds sterling. This sum was in part returned by General Braddock, but the remainder was never paid. When Lord Loudoun succeeded General Shirley, the accounts were examined and compared with the vouchers by the proper officer, and certified to be right; but Lord Loudoun declined giving an order on the paymaster for the balance, stating as a reason, that he preferred not to mix up his accounts with those of his predecessors; and, as Franklin was then on the point of departing for England, he referred him to the treasury in London, where, he said, payment would immediately be made. The application to the treasury, however, was unsuccessful.

the Lower Counties, so that I cannot at present see the papers you refer me to, but I shall wait upon him in my journey to Virginia; and if, on perusing those papers, any thing seeming worthy of your notice should occur to me, I shall communicate my sentiments to you with that honest freedom, which you always approve.

This journey, which I cannot now avoid, will deprive me of the pleasure of waiting on your Excellency in New York, at the time you mention. I hear, too, that the governor does not purpose to send any commissioners thither, but to go himself. I know not what is to be the particular subject of your consultations; but, as I believe all your schemes have the King's service (which is the public good) in view, I cannot but wish them success.

Our Assembly meets the beginning of December, when I hope to be at home again; and, if any assistance is to be required of them and the people here, depend on my faithful services, so far as my little sphere of influence shall extend. With the highest esteem and respect, I have the honor to be, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.*

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* The following extract from a letter, written by Israel Pemberton in Philadelphia to Dr. Fothergill in London, towards the close of the year 1755, affords some interesting particulars concerning the spirited conduct of Franklin in promoting Braddock's expedition, and other public measures of that period. Sir John St. Clair was quartermaster-general to Braddock's army.

"When the governors of Boston and New York were here on their way to Annapolis, to meet General Braddock, Governor Shirley insisted on Benjamin Franklin's going with them. He, with some difficulty, undertook the journey, though he had scarcely perfected the scheme, which some others had projected for enabling the Assembly to raise a sum of money legally without the Governor's concurrence, and thereby making use of the opportunity they desired of demonstrating their readiness to comply with the demands of the King, as far as we are capable, consistently with our religious and civil liberties.

"After the business of the Convention was over, Franklin stayed be-

TO JAMES READ.

Arms and Ammunition sent to the Frontiers.

Philadelphia, 2 November, 1755.

DEAR SIR,

I have your letter by Mr. Sea, and one just now by express. I am glad to hear the arms are well got up; they are the best that we could procure. I wish they were better; but they are well fortified, will bear a good charge, and I should imagine they would do good service with swan or buck shot, if not so fit for single ball. I have been ill these eight days, confined to my room and bed most of the time, but am now getting better. I have, however, done what I could in sending about to purchase arms, &c., for the supply

hind the governor, in order to settle a post from Will's Creek to this city. He then had an opportunity of frequent conferences with the General, and by that means of removing the great prejudices they had imbibed against the people of this province, which were such that they seemed more intent on an expedition against us, than against the French. They had been told, that we had refused to supply them with provisions and carriages, though the pay for it had been offered us, and would not agree to open a road from their camp to our settlements; and it was very constantly insinuated, that we were at the same time supplying the French with provisions. In answer to which, he had the opportunity of assuring them, that the Assembly had voted £5000 to be laid out in provisions, and made ready before their arrival; that no notice had ever been given of their wanting any more carriages, than the Virginians and Marylanders had undertaken to furnish; and that a committee was then surveying the ground in order to lay out the road. The last charge was so wild that it required little trouble to refute it. Franklin immediately took care to hasten the transportation of the meal, &c., which had been provided, and undertook to use his endeavours to procure as many horses and wagons as were wanted, and he succeeded so well, as to leave the General in a much better disposition than he found him, and to prevent the ill consequences to be feared from a disappointment. He stayed in the back counties of this province, till he had engaged the wagons, and thus he was providentially employed to avert the unhappy effects, which might reasonably be expected from a madman, as St. Clair may be termed, coming with an armed force among

of the frontiers, and can now spare you fifty more, which I shall send up to-morrow with some flints, lead, swan-shot, and a barrel of gunpowder. The arms will be under your care and Mr. Weiser's,* you being gentlemen in commission from the governor. Keep an account of whose hands you put them into. Let them be prudent, sober, careful men, such as will not rashly hurt our friends with them, and such as will honestly return them when peace shall be happily restored.

I sincerely commiserate the distress of your out settlers. The Assembly sit to-morrow, and there is no room to doubt of their hearty endeavours to do every thing necessary for the country's safety. I wish the same disposition may be found in the governor, and I hope it. I have put off my journey to Virginia, and you may depend on my best services for the common welfare, so far as my little influence extends. I am your affectionate kinsman and humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

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a peaceable, inoffensive people, who very probably might, through their ignorance, have become the objects of his rash displeasure.

"Franklin's conduct through this affair was very prudent, and indeed he was the only person who was alone equal to it. The Assembly, sitting immediately after his return home, unanimously thanked him for it. The satisfaction of serving a people, whom he respects, and the quick sense of the injurious treatment they meet with, animated Franklin so effectually, that I am in hopes it will engage him to act steadily and zealously in our defence. We are so fully sensible of the unwearied exertions of our adversaries, that we think no just and reasonable measures should be omitted to obviate them."

Other particulars respecting these transactions may be found in "A Brief Review of the Conduct of Pennsylvania for the Year 1755," written by William Smith, and published in London the year following. After relating the facts, the author says, "Mr. Franklin has taken the greatest pains in this whole affair, without the least recompense, but the satisfaction of serving his country." p. 34.

* Conrad Weiser, celebrated as an Indian interpreter for many years, highly respected for his character, and of great influence with the Indians.

P. S. My best respects to Mr. Weiser. Nine hundred arms with ammunition have been sent up, by the committee of Assembly, to different parts of the frontier.

TO WILLIAM PARSONS.*

Money appropriated for the Defence of the Frontiers.— A Militia Act passed. — Arms and Powder provided.

Philadelphia, 5 December, 1755.

DEAR SIR,

I received your favor of November 25th, and take this first opportunity of acquainting you, that an act is passed granting £60,000 chiefly for the defence of the province, and is to be disposed of for that purpose, by seven persons, namely, Isaac Norris, James Hamilton, J. Mifflin, Joseph Fox, Evan Morgan, John Hughes, and your old friend. We meet every day, Sundays not excepted, and have a good agreement with the governor. Three hundred men are ordered to be immediately raised on pay, to range the frontiers, and blockhouses for stages to be erected at proper distances and garrisoned; so that I hope in a little time to see things in a better posture. A militia act is also passed, of which, if people are well disposed, a good use may be made, and bodies of men be ready on any occasion to assist and support the rangers.† All par-

* William Parsons was one of the earliest members of the *Junto*, formed by Franklin soon after he established himself in Philadelphia. See Vol. II. pp. 9, 551. Parsons was afterwards Surveyor-General of Pennsylvania. When this letter was written he was at Easton. He died in 1758.

† See this Militia Act, Vol. III. p. 78.

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ties laid aside, let you and I use our influence to carry this act into execution.

I received also your letter of the 27th, relating the unhappy affair of Gnadenhutten, and desiring arms. I have accordingly procured and sent up by a wagon to one George Overpack's a chest of arms, containing fifty, and five loose, fifty-five in all, of which twenty-five are for Easton, and thirty to be disposed of to such persons nearest danger on the frontiers, who are without arms and unable to buy, as yourself with Messrs. Atkins and Martin may judge most proper; letting all know that the arms are only lent for their defence, that they belong to the public, and must be held forthcoming when the government shall demand them; for which each man should give his note. By the same wagon we send twenty-five guns for Lehigh township, and ten for Bethlehem to the Moravian Brethren; which make in all one hundred; with which goes one hundred weight of gunpowder, and four hundred pounds of lead; so there should be one pound of powder and four pounds of lead divided to each man.

Who brought your last letter to me I know not, it being left at my house. You mention sending a wagon, and I daily expected to see the wagoner, but he never called on me for an answer. Please to let me know by a line when you have received what is sent. I am your affectionate friend and humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO WILLIAM PARSONS.

Troops sent to the Frontiers.

Philadelphia, 15 December, 1755.

DEAR FRIEND,

We received yours of the 13th. You will before this time have received the arms and ammunition, blankets, &c., sent up for an intended ranging party. They may be made use of for the defence of your town till we arrive. Captain Trump, from Upper Dublin, marches the day after to-morrow with fifty men to your assistance. The provisions for their use go with them, so that they will not burden you. Orders are gone to Captains Aston and Wayne to march also with their companies immediately. They will remain on your frontier two or three months, till they can be relieved by others.

Mr. Hamilton and myself will set out on Thursday to visit you, and erect blockhouses in proper places. Think of suitable officers for raising and commanding men to be kept in the province pay; for Mr. Hamilton does not know the people your way, nor do I know whom to recommend. He will bring some blank commissions with him. I enclose you twenty pounds towards buying meal and meat for the poor fugitives, that take refuge with you. Be of good courage, and God guide you. Your friends will never desert you. I am yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.*

* Franklin was extremely active in providing for the defence of the frontiers, as well by his personal efforts, as in the capacity of one of the commissioners for that purpose. The following memoranda were found by Mr. Duane among his papers.

"*Considerations to be taken.*

"What number of men?

"Should the post be fortified, and in what manner?

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

Easton, Saturday Night, 27 December, 1755.

MY DEAR CHILD,

I received with pleasure yours of the 24th, which acquainted me of your and the family's welfare. I am glad to hear, that the companies are forming in town and choosing their officers, and I hope the example will be followed throughout the country. We all continue well, but much harassed with business. After many difficulties and disappointments we march-

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"How long to be continued there?

"Could they not be partly employed in raising their own provisions?

"Could they have some lots of land assigned them for their encouragement?

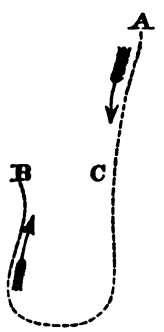
"What their pay; and from what funds?

"How much the annual expense?

"Is it certain that the late method of giving rewards for apprehending rioters will be effectual?

"To whom does the land belong?"

In one of his letters he said; "The fifty arms now sent are all furnished with staples for sling straps, that, if the governor should order a troop or company of rangers on horseback, the pieces may be slung at the horsemen's backs. A party on the scout should observe several rules to avoid being tracked and surprised in their encampments at night. This may be done sometimes when they come to a creek or run, by entering the run and travelling up the stream or down the stream, in the water, a mile or two, and then encamp, the stream effacing the track, and the enemy at a loss to know whether the party went up or down. Suppose a party marching from *A* intends to halt at *B*, they do not go straight to *B* and stop there, but pass by at some little distance, and make a turn which brings them thither. Between *B* and *C* two or three sentinels are placed to watch the track, and give immediate notice at *B*, if they perceive any party pass by in pursuit, with an account of the number, &c., which enables the party at *B* to prepare and attack them if they judge that proper, or gives them time to escape. But I add no more of this kind, recollecting that Mr. Weiser must be much better acquainted with all these things than I am."



ed two companies yesterday over the mountains, namely, Aston's and Trump's. We wait here only for shoes, arms, and blankets, expected hourly, and then shall move towards Berks County. Our compliments to Mrs. Masters and all inquiring friends. When you write next, direct to Mr. Read's care at Reading. My duty to mother, and love to the children. I hope to find you all well at my return. My love to Mr. Hall. We have no fresh news here of mischief, to be depended on. Send the newspapers and my letters to Reading, and let me have all the little news about the X Y Z proceedings, officers, &c. I am obliged to Goody Smith for kindly remembering me. I am, with great affection, your loving husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

COMMISSION FROM GOVERNOR MORRIS.

The Honorable Robert Hunter Morris, Esquire, Lieutenant-Governor, and Commander-in-Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania, and Counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware, to Benjamin Franklin.

I do hereby authorize and empower you to take into your charge the County of Northampton, to dismiss all persons who have been commissioned by me to any military command, and to put others into their places; and to fill up the blank commissions herewith delivered, with the names of such persons as you shall judge fit for his Majesty's service; hereby ratifying all your acts and proceedings, done in virtue of this power; and approving the expenses accruing thereupon. And I do further order and enjoin all officers and soldiers to yield obedience to you in the execution of this power, and all magistrates, sheriffs, and

others, in any kind of civil authority, and all his Majesty's liege subjects, to be aiding and assisting you in the premises. Given under my hand and seal, at Reading, this 5th day of January, 1756.*

ROBERT H. MORRIS.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

Bethlehem, 15 January, 1756.

MY DEAR CHILD,

We move this day for Gnadenhutten. If you have not cash sufficient, call upon Mr. Moore, the treasurer, with that order of the Assembly, and desire him to pay you one hundred pounds of it. If he has not cash on hand, Mr. Norris (to whom my respects) will advance it for him. We shall have with us about one hundred and thirty men, and shall endeavour to act cautiously, so as to give the enemy no advantage through our negligence. Make yourself therefore easy. Give my hearty love to all friends. I hope in a fortnight or three weeks, God willing, to see the intended line of forts finished, and then I shall make a trip to Philadelphia, and send away the lottery tickets, and pay off the prizes, though you may pay such as come to hand of those sold in Philadelphia of my signing. They were but few, the most being sold abroad; and those that sold them and received the money will pay off the prizes. I hope you have paid Mrs. Stephens for the bills. I am, my dear child, your loving husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

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* This was a special and temporary commission; but, after Franklin's return, in February, he was chosen and commissioned colonel of the Philadelphia regiment.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

Humorous Account of his Situation at Gnadenhutten.

Gnadenhutten, 25 January, 1756.

MY DEAR CHILD,

This day week we arrived here. I wrote to you the same day, and once since. We all continue well, thanks be to God. We have been hindered with bad weather, yet our fort is in a good defensible condition, and we have every day more convenient living. Two more are to be built, one on each side of this, at about fifteen miles' distance. I hope both will be done in a week or ten days, and then I purpose to bend my course homewards.

We have enjoyed your roast beef, and this day began on the roast veal. All agree that they are both the best that ever were of the kind. Your citizens, that have their dinners hot and hot, know nothing of good eating. We find it in much greater perfection when the kitchen is four score miles from the dining room.

The apples are extremely welcome, and do bravely to eat after our salt pork; the minced pies are not yet come to hand, but I suppose we shall find them among the things expected up from Bethlehem on Tuesday; the capillaire is excellent, but, none of us having taken cold as yet, we have only tasted it.

As to our lodging, it is on deal featherbeds, in warm blankets, and much more comfortable than when we lodged at our inn, the first night after we left home; for, the woman being about to put very damp sheets on the bed, we desired her to air them first; half an hour afterwards, she told us the bed was ready, and the sheets *well aired*. I got into bed, but jumped

out immediately, finding them as cold as death, and partly frozen. She had *aired* them indeed, but it was out upon the hedge. I was forced to wrap myself up in my great coat and woollen trowsers. Every thing else about the bed was shockingly dirty.

As I hope in a little time to be with you and my family, and chat things over, I now only add, that I am, dear Debby, your affectionate husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO A FRIEND.*

March of the Troops to Gnadenhutten, and the Building of a Fort at that Place.

Gnadenhutten, 25 January, 1756.

DEAR SIR,

We got to Hays's the same evening we left you, and reviewed Craig's company by the way. Much of the next morning was spent in exchanging the bad arms for the good. Wayne's company having joined us, we that night reached Uplinger's, where we got into good quarters, and Saturday morning we began to march towards Gnadenhutten, and proceeded nearly two miles; but, it seeming to set in for a rainy day, the men unprovided with great coats, and many unable to secure effectually their arms from the wet, we thought it advisable to face about, and return to our former quarters, where the men might dry themselves and lie warm; whereas, had they proceeded, they would have come in wet to Gnadenhutten, where shelter and opportunity of drying themselves that night were uncertain. In fact, it rained all day, and we were all pleased that we had not proceeded.

* This letter was probably directed to one of the commissioners, but the name of the individual is not known.

The next day, being Sunday, we marched hither, where we arrived about two o'clock in the afternoon, and before five had enclosed our camp with a strong breast work musket-proof; and, with the boards brought here before by my order from Dunker's Mill, we got ourselves under some shelter from the weather. Monday was so dark, with a thick fog all day, that we could neither look out for a place to build, nor see where materials were to be had. Tuesday morning we looked round us, pitched on a place, and marked out our fort on the ground. By three in the afternoon the logs were all cut, and many of them hauled to the spot, the ditch dug to set them in three feet deep, and many were pointed and set up. The next day we were hindered by rain most of the day. Thursday we resumed our work, and before night were perfectly well enclosed; and on Friday morning the stockade was finished, and part of the platform within erected, which was completed next morning, when we dismissed Foulke's and Wetherhold's companies, and sent Hays down for a convoy of provisions. This day we hoisted the flag, made a general discharge of our pieces, which had been long loaded, and of our two swivels, and named the place *Fort Allen* in honor of our old friend. It is one hundred and twenty-five feet long, and fifty wide; the stockades most of them a foot thick, three feet in the ground and twelve feet out, pointed at the top.

This is an account of our week's work, which I thought might give you some satisfaction. Foulke is gone to build another fort between this and Schuylkill fort, which I hope will be finished (as Trexler is to join him) in a week or ten days, as soon as Hays returns. I shall detach another party to erect another at Surfass's, which I hope may be finished in the same time, and then I suppose end my campaign, God will-

ing, and do myself the pleasure of seeing you on my return. I can now add no more, than that I am with great esteem and affection, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO ROBERT HUNTER MORRIS, GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Transactions at Gnadenhutten. — Number and Position of the Troops.

Fort Allen, at Gnadenhutten, 26 January, 1756.

SIR,

We left Bethlehem, the 16th instant, with Foulke's company forty-six men, the detachment of M^c^Laughlin's twenty, and seven wagons laden with stores and provisions. We got that night to Hays's quarters, where Wayne's company joined us from Nazareth. The next day we marched cautiously through the gap of the mountain, a very dangerous pass, and got to Uplinger's, twenty-one miles from Bethlehem, the roads being bad, and the wagons moving slowly.

This present Monday we are erecting a third house in the fort to accommodate the garrison. As soon as Captain Hays returns with the convoy of stores and provisions, which I hope may be to-morrow, I purpose to send Arndt and Hays to join Captain Trump in erecting the middle fort there, purposing to remain here between them and Foulke, ready to assist and supply both, as occasion may require; and I hope in a week or ten days, weather favoring, that those two forts may be finished, the line of forts completed and garrisoned, the rangers in motion, and the intermediate guards and watches disbanded, unless they are permitted and encouraged to go after the enemy to the Susquehanna.

At present the expense in this county is prodigious.

We have on foot and in pay the following companies, viz. Trump's, consisting of fifty men; Aston's, fifty; Wayne's, fifty-five; Foulke's, forty-six; Trexler's, forty-eight; and Wetherhold's, forty-four, without the Fork; Arndt's, fifty; Craig's, thirty; and Martin's, thirty, in the Irish settlements; Van Elten's, thirty, at Minisink; Hays's, forty-five; detachment of McLaughlin's, twenty; Parsons's, twenty-four, at Easton; total, five hundred and twenty-two.

This, Sir, is a particular account of our transactions, and the present state of affairs in this county. I am glad to learn, by your favor of the 21st, just received, that you have thoughts of coming to Bethlehem, as I may hope for an opportunity of waiting upon your Honor there, after our works are finished, and of communicating every thing more fully, I now only add, that I am, with dutiful respect, Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.*

* He wrote to Mr. Horsefield, January 25th; "Foulke with his company marches this day to build another fort between this and Fort Lebanon in the Forks of the Schuylkill. He is to be assisted by Traxler's company, and a detachment of Wetherhold's, which also leaves us this day. My son, with Hays's company and Arndt's, marches in a few days to Surfass's place, (where Trump is also expected,) to erect another fort between this and Fort Hamilton near Brodhead's. I purpose to remain here between them till both are finished, with Wayne and the detachment of Davis's, that I may be able to supply and assist on either side as occasion requires. This is the present state of our affairs, of which please to inform our friends, as I cannot now write to them"

Again, to Mr. Samuel Rhoads, January 26th. "We have built one pretty strong fort, and by the end of next week, or in ten days, hope to finish two more, one on each side of this, and at fifteen miles' distance. These, I suppose, will complete the projected line from Delaware to the Susquehanna. I then purpose, God willing, to return homewards, and enjoy the pleasures I promise myself, of finding my friends well"

In another letter to Mr. Horsefield, written on the 28th, he said; "I have the pleasure to inform you, that the six wagons are just arrived, and I suppose all right, though I have not yet had time to ex-

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

Fort Allen, at Gnadenhutten, 30 January, 1756.

My dear Child,

Every other day, since we have been here, it has rained, more or less, to our no small hindrance. I rained yesterday, and now again to day, which prevented our marching; so I will sit down half an hour to confer a little with you.

All the things you sent me, from time to time, are safely come to hand, and our living grows every day more comfortable; yet there are many things we still want, but do not send for them, as we hope our stay here will not be long.

I thought to have wrote you a long letter, but here comes in a number of people, from different parts, that have business with me, and interrupt me; we have

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amine the contents. There are ten Lehigh people buzzing in both ears while I write; so can only add my thanks for your care and readiness to serve the province."

The difficulties and dangers of the march, and the condition of the inhabitants on the frontiers, are well described in a journal kept by Mr. Thomas Lloyd, and contained in a letter dated at Gnadenhutten on the 31st of January. After giving an account of the progress of the army through the defiles of the mountains, along the Lehigh River he writes as follows.

"*January 17th.* This morning we were reinforced by a party of Captain Wetherhold's, about twenty in number. We are now in the country of an enemy, against whom all possible caution is absolutely necessary, and scarce sufficient to prevent surprises. This day, before we marched, the several companies were drawn up on a parade, and attended with ordered firelocks, in the most solemn manner, to an excellent prayer and animating exhortation, delivered by the Reverend Mr. Beatty; and immediately after began their march, which was conducted by Mr. William Franklin with great order and regularity in the following manner. First the scouts ranged the woods and mountains in the front, in a semicircular line. Lieutenant Davis, of McLaughlin's, led the advanced guard of twenty-two men, the van followed at about two hundred paces' distance, commanded by Wetherhold; Captain Wayne led the centre, where marched the general, the chaplain, and all the wag

but one room, and that quite public; so I can only add, that I have just received yours, Sally's, and Grace's letters, of the 25th, with one from Mr. Hughes, and one from Mr. Thomson. Present my respects to those gentlemen (and excuse my not writing, as I have nothing material, and am much hurried), and love to all our friends and neighbours. Billy presents his duty to you, and love to his sister; all the gentlemen their compliments; they drink your health at every meal, having always something on the table to put them in mind of you.

I found, among the newspapers, Mr. Shoen's bills of exchange, which should not have been sent up here; I suppose it was by mistake, and mention it, that you need not be troubled to look more for them.

I am, dear girl, your loving husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

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ons and baggage, which Captain Foulke, with forty-seven men, followed; and the rear guard was brought up by Ensign Sterling, who had besides scouts out, on each flank, and spies on every hill. In this manner our line of march extended a full mile, and made a pretty appearance from the hills. In the night we were alarmed by two sentinels firing at two Indians, who escaped and appeared no more.

"*Sunday*, 18*th*. Part of our route, this day, was through the worst country I ever saw. Hills, like Alps, on each side, and a long narrow defile, where the road scarcely admitted a single wagon. At the bottom of it a rapid creek with steep banks, and a bridge made of a single log, so situated that the Indians might with safety to themselves, from the caverns in the rocks, have cut us all off notwithstanding all human precaution. Yet we arrived safe at Gnadenhutten about twelve o'clock, and immediately employed our men in forming a camp, and raising a breastwork to defend it. Here all round appears nothing but one continued scene of horror and destruction. Where lately flourished a happy and peaceful village, it is now all silent and desolate; the houses burnt; the inhabitants butchered in the most shocking manner; their mangled bodies, for want of funerals, exposed to birds and beasts of prey; and all kinds of mischief perpetrated, that wanton cruelty can invent. We have omitted nothing, since our arrival, that can contribute to the happiness and security of the country in general. Mr. Franklin will, at least, deserve a statue for his prudence, justice, humanity, and, above all, for his patience."

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

Fort Allen, 31 January, 1756.

My Dear,

I wrote a line to you yesterday, and, having thi opportunity, write another, just to let you know, tha we all continue well, and much the better for th refreshments you have sent us; in short, we do ver well; for, though there are a great number of thing besides what we have, that used to seem necessar to comfortable living, yet we have learned to do with out them.

Mr. Beatty is a very useful man here, and the Doc tor another. Besides their services to the public, the are very agreeable companions to me. They, with Cap tain Clapham, Mr. Edmond, and the rest of our com pany, present their hearty respects to you for th *goodies.* Billy presents his duty to you and hi grandmother, and love to his sister. Distribute m compliments among our acquaintance, and hearty lov to all friends. The bearer waits, so that I cannot writ to my dear Sally. I am, dear girl, your loving hus band, B. Franklin.

TO MRS. JANE MECOM.

Philadelphia, 12 February, 1756.

Dear Sister,

I condole with you on the loss of our dear brother.* As our number grows less, let us love one anothe proportionably more.

I am just returned from my military expedition, an

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* John Franklin, who died at Boston, in January, 1756, at the ag of sixty-five.

now my time is taken up in the Assembly. Providence seems to require various duties of me. I know not what will be next; but I find, the more I seek for leisure and retirement from business, the more I am engaged in it. Benny, I understand, inclines to leave Antigua. He may be in the right. I have no objection. My love to brother and to your children I am, dearest sister, your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN

TO MISS E. HUBBARD.*

On the Death of his Brother, John Franklin.

Philadelphia, 23 February, 1756.

—I condole with you. We have lost a most dear and valuable relation. But it is the will of God and nature, that these mortal bodies be laid aside, when the soul is to enter into real life. This is rather an embryo state, a preparation for living. A man is not completely born until he be dead. Why then should we grieve, that a new child is born among the immortals, a new member added to their happy society?

We are spirits. That bodies should be lent us, while they can afford us pleasure, assist us in acquiring knowledge, or in doing good to our fellow creatures, is a kind and benevolent act of God. When they become unfit for these purposes, and afford us pain instead of pleasure, instead of an aid become an incumbrance, and answer none of the intentions for which they were given, it is equally kind and benevolent, that a way is provided by which we may get

* John Franklin married a second wife, by the name of Hubbard, a widow. Miss E. Hubbard, to whom this letter was addressed, was her daughter by a former marriage.

rid of them. Death is that way. We ourselves, in some cases, prudently choose a partial death. A mangled painful limb, which cannot be restored, we willingly cut off. He, who plucks out a tooth, parts with it freely, since the pain goes with it; and he, who quits the whole body, parts at once with all pains, and possibilities of pains and diseases, which it was liable to, or capable of making him suffer.

Our friend and we were invited abroad on a party of pleasure, which is to last for ever. His chair was ready first, and he is gone before us. We could not all conveniently start together; and why should you and I be grieved at this, since we are soon to follow, and know where to find him? Adieu.

B. FRANKLIN.*

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* On a similar occasion he wrote to his sister, a few years afterwards, as follows. "It is remarkable, that so many breaches by death should be made in our family in so short a space. Out of seventeen children, that our father had, thirteen lived to grow up and settle in the world. I remember these thirteen (some of us then very young) all at one table, when an entertainment was made at our house, on occasion of the return of our brother Josiah, who had been absent in the East Indies, and unheard of for nine years. Of these thirteen, there now remain but three. As our number diminishes, let our affection to each other rather increase; for, besides its being our duty, it is our interest; since the more affectionate relations are to each other, the more they are respected by the rest of the world."

Again, speaking of the death of an acquaintance, he wrote; "Your neighbour must have been pretty well advanced in years when he died. I remember him a young man, when I was a very young boy. In looking back, how short the time seems! I suppose that all the passages of our lives, that we have forgotten, being so many links taken out of the chain, give the more distant parts leave, as it were, to come apparently nearer together."

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

Fredericktown, Virginia, 21 March, 1756.

MY DEAR CHILD,

We got here yesterday afternoon, and purpose sailing to-day if the wind be fair. Peter was taken ill with a fever and pain in his side before I got to Newcastle. I had him bled there, and put him into the chair wrapped up warm, as he could not bear the motion of the horse, and got him here pretty comfortably. He went immediately to bed, and took some camomile tea, and this morning is about again and almost well. I leave my horses at Mr. Milliken's, a gentleman that lives on Bohemia River.

Among the government orders I left with you, are two written ones drawn on Mr. Charles Norris for considerable sums. You did not tell me, when I asked you, what money you had in hand. If you want before my return, present one of those orders to Mr. Norris, and he will pay the whole or a part, as you have occasion. Billy will also pay you some money, which I did not care to take with me from Newcastle. Be careful of your accounts, particularly about the lottery affairs. My duty to mother, and love to Sally, Debby, Gracy, &c., not forgetting the Goody. Desire Dr. Bond to send me some of those pills by post I forgot to take any with me. Let Mr. Parker know I received the money he sent me on the post-office and money-paper accounts. I forgot to write it to him, though I fully intended it. If there is peace I shall probably not come home so soon as I purposed to do, in case the ships from England bring a declaration of war, or in case the uncertainty continues. I am, my dear child, your loving husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

Williamsburg, 30 March, 1756.

MY DEAR CHILD,

I wrote to you *viâ* New York the day after my arrival, acquainting you that I had a fine journey and passage down the Bay, being but four days from Philadelphia to Colonel Hunter's, though stopped near a day on the road.* I have been well ever since, quite clear of the dizziness I complained of, and as gay as a bird, not beginning yet to long for home, the worry of perpetual business being yet fresh in my memory. Mr. Hunter is much better than I expected to find him, and we are daily employed in settling our affairs. About the end of the week we are to take a tour into the country. Virginia is a pleasant country, now in full spring; the people obliging and polite. I shall return in the man-of-war to New York with Colonel Hunter and his lady; at least, this is proposed; but, if a more convenient opportunity offers, perhaps I may not stay so long as the end of next month, when that ship is to sail. I am, my dear Debby, your loving husband,

B. FRANKLIN.†

* Franklin and Colonel Hunter were at this time jointly postmasters-general of the colonies, and the business of the post-office seems to have been the object of this journey to Virginia.

† On the 10th of June he wrote from Philadelphia to William Parsons; "It is now a long time since I had the pleasure of a line from you. I am now returned from Virginia, where I was near two months. I should be glad to learn from you the present state of the forces in your county, and of the people. If in any thing I can serve you, command freely your old friend."

TO MRS. JANE MECOM.

Concerning a Nephew, whom he had established as a Printer in Antigua.

New York, 28 June, 1756.

DEAR SISTER,

I received here your letter of extravagant thanks, which put me in mind of the story of the member of Parliament, who began one of his speeches with saying he thanked God that he was born and bred a Presbyterian; on which another took leave to observe, that the gentleman must needs be of a most grateful disposition, since he was thankful for such very small matters.

You desire me to tell you what I know about Benny's removal, and the reasons of it. Some time last year, when I returned from a long journey, I found a letter from him, which had been some time unanswered, and it was some considerable time afterwards, before I knew of an opportunity to send an answer. I should first have told you, that when I set him up at Antigua, he was to have the use of the printing-house on the same terms with his predecessor, Mr. Smith; that is, allowing me one third part of the profits. After this, finding him diligent and careful, for his encouragement, I relinquished that agreement, and let him know, that as you were removed into a dearer house, if he paid you yearly a certain sum, I forget what it was, towards discharging your rent, and another small sum to me, in sugar and rum for my family use, he need keep no farther accounts of the profits, but should enjoy all the rest himself. I cannot remember what the whole of both payments amounted to, but I think they did not exceed twenty pounds a year.

The truth is, I intended, from the first, to give him that printing-house; but, as he was young and inexperienced in the world, I thought it best not to do it immediately, but to keep him a little dependent for a time, to check the flighty unsteadiness of temper, which, on several occasions, he had discovered; and what I received from him, I concluded to lay out in new letters (or types), that, when I should give it to him entirely, it might be worth his acceptance; and if I should die first, I put it in my will, that the letters should be all new cast for him.

This proposal of paying you and me a certain annual sum did not please him; and he wrote to desire I would explicitly tell him how long that annual payment was to continue; whether, on payment of that, all prior demands I had against him, for the arrears of our first agreement, were likewise cancelled; and finally insisted, that I would name a certain sum, that I would take for the printing-house, and allow him to pay it off in parts as he could, and then the yearly payments to cease; for, though he had a high esteem for me, yet he loved freedom, and his spirit could not bear dependence on any man, though he were the best man living.

This was the letter, which occasionally remained, as I said, so long unanswered; at which he took farther offence; and, before I could answer it, I received another from him, acquainting me that he had come to a resolution to remove from the Island; that his resolution was fixed, and nothing that could be said to him should move or shake it; and he proposed another person to me, to carry on the business in his room. This was immediately followed by another and a third letter, to the same purpose, all declaring the inflexibility of his determination to leave the Island, but with-

out saying where he proposed to go, or what were his motives. So I wrote him, that I would not attempt to change his resolutions; that I made no objections to his quitting, but wished he had let me know where he was going; that, as to the person he recommended to succeed him, I had kept the office there after Mr. Smith's decease, in hopes it might be of use to him (Benny). I did not incline to be concerned with any other there. However, if the person would buy it, I named the price; if not, I directed it to be packed up and sent home. All I desired of him was to discharge what he owed to Mr. Strahan, bookseller in London, one of my friends, who had credited him on my recommendation.

By this post I received the enclosed letter, and understand the things are all arrived. I shall be very glad to hear he does better in another place, but I fear he will not for some years be cured of his fickleness, and get fixed to any purpose; however, we must hope for the best, as with this fault he has many good qualities and virtues.

My love to brother and children, and to all that love you. I am, dear sister, your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO WILLIAM PARSONS.

On Military Affairs.

New York, 28 June, 1756.

DEAR FRIEND,

I have received here your favor of the 19th instant, with a copy of your remarks on reviewing the forts, for which I am much obliged to you; and I hope the governor and commissioners will immediately take the

necessary measures to remedy every thing that you find amiss. I think you hazarded yourself with too small escorts, and am glad you got safe through. It appears plainly, that it will be of great use to review the forts frequently. The expense must be inconsiderable, compared to the advantages and security that may be derived from it.

Great part of the British regiments are arrived here. The men are all in health, and look exceedingly well. What will be undertaken this summer is, I believe, unknown, or uncertain till the general's arrival. Some of the officers think this year will be chiefly spent in preparation for the next. Others imagine there will be an accommodation. For my part I can make no judgment. This only I can plainly see, that New York is growing immensely rich by money brought into it from all quarters for the pay and subsistence of the troops. General Shirley, it is said, is to go home in the same ship, that brings Lord Loudoun, and to be made one of the Lords of Trade. The Indians continue to scalp now and then a man too close to Albany, Oswego, and the camps. The New England forces are not yet complete. Those colonies have overdone themselves, and undertaken too much, more than they are able to bear or perform.

With great esteem, I am, dear friend, affectionately yours, B. FRANKLIN

TO THOMAS POWNALL.*

Indians regardless of their Treaty. — Six Nations. — Recruits should march to the Frontiers.

Philadelphia, 19 August, 1756.

SIR,

I have done myself the honor to write to you twice since my return, relating to the proposed road; but have as yet had no line from you.

Enclosed I send you a copy of the late treaty, or conference, at Easton, with a letter from Bishop Spangenberg to Mr. Norris, by which you will see nothing is likely to come of the treaty. The Indians are preparing to continue the war, and we see of how little consequence Sir William Johnson's treaty has been in our behalf. For my own part, I make no doubt but the Six Nations have privily encouraged these Indians to fall upon us. They have taken no step to defend us, as their allies, nor to prevent the mischief done us. I look upon the application made through Sir William Johnson to these nations to procure us peace, as the

* Thomas Pownall, commonly called Governor Pownall, came first to America with Sir Danvers Osborn, Governor of New York, in 1753. His brother, John Pownall, was one of the secretaries to the Board of Trade; and Thomas Pownall had made himself well acquainted with American affairs. He returned to England in February, 1756, but came back to America again with the Earl of Loudoun, who landed at New York on the 23d of July following. In the next year, 1757, he succeeded General Shirley as governor of Massachusetts. At later periods he was lieutenant-governor of New Jersey, and governor of South Carolina, though it would seem that he remained but a short time in either of these two last stations. He was a member of Parliament from 1768 to 1780, and opposed with much boldness and ability the ministerial measures against the colonies. He wrote and published various tracts relating to America, the most valuable of which is his treatise entitled, "Administration of the Colonies," which passed through several editions. He died in 1805, at the advanced age of eighty-three years.

most unfortunate step we ever took; for we tied up the hands of our people, till we heard the result of that application. The affair was drawn out to great length of time, and in the mean while our frontier people were continually butchered, and at last either dispersed or dispirited. In short, I do not believe we shall ever have a firm peace with the Indians, till we have well drubbed them.

Our frontiers are greatly distressed, as you will see by the enclosed letters. The people are also distressed by the enlisting of their servants; but, if Lord Loudoun would order the recruits, now near five hundred, to march up and take post on the frontiers in the forts there, where they would find good barracks, and might be of great use to the inhabitants, it would be a most acceptable thing to the whole province. In this Mr. Norris joins with me, as well as in compliments to his Lordship and yourself.

The Assembly are met, and in a very good disposition toward the service; but, the new governor being hourly expected, nothing can be done till his arrival. He is, we hear, on the road from York. I am, Sir &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

Conveyance of the Mail for the Accommodation of the Army.

Philadelphia, 19 August, 1756.

SIR,

I have your favors of July 23d and August 3d, but that you mention to have wrote by Mr. Balfour is not

* At this time commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces, raised to protect the frontiers from the Indians and French. His head-quarters

come to hand. I forwarded the packet enclosed in that of July 23d, as directed, and shall readily take care of any other letters from you, that pass through my hands. The post, between this place and Winchester, was established for the accommodation of the army chiefly, by a vote of our Assembly. They are not willing to continue the charge, and it must, I believe, be dropped, unless your Assembly and that of Maryland will contribute to support it, which, perhaps, is scarce to be expected.

I am sorry it should be laid down, as I shall myself be a loser in the affair of newspapers.* But the letters per post by no means defray the expense. If you can prevail with your Assembly to pay the rider from Winchester to Carlisle, I will endeavour to persuade ours to continue paying the rider from Carlisle hither. My agreement with the house was, to carry all public despatches gratis, to keep account of postage received for private letters, and charge the expense of riders and offices; and they were to pay the balance. I am, Sir, with great esteem and respect, &c. B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. We have just received news, that the Delaware Indians, with whom we treated lately at Easton, have burnt the goods they received as presents, and resolved to continue the war.†

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were at Winchester. Franklin, in his capacity of deputy postmaster, or rather the postmaster-general for the colonies, had the year previous, during Braddock's march, arranged a post between Philadelphia and Winchester, in consequence of a vote of the Pennsylvania Assembly.

* At this time, Franklin printed and published a newspaper in Philadelphia.

† Though Franklin was actively engaged in these important affairs, which had an immediate claim upon his exertions, he took a not less zealous or liberal part in promoting objects of general utility; as is

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

Conference with the Indians at Easton.

Easton, 13 November, 1756

My dear Child,

I wrote to you a few days since by a special me senger, and enclosed letters for all our wives and swe hearts; expecting to hear from you by his return, a to have the northern newspapers and English lett per the packet; but he is just now returned with a scrap for poor us. So I had a good mind not write to you by this opportunity; but I never can ill natured enough even when there is the most occ sion. The messenger says he left the letters at yc house, and saw you afterwards at Mr. Duché's, a told you when he would go, and that he lodged Honey's, next door to you, and yet you did not writ so let Goody Smith give one more just judgment, a say what should be done to you. I think I won't t you that we are well, nor that we expect to retu about the middle of the week, nor will I send you word of news; that 's poz.

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manifest by the following extract from a letter written to him by William Shipley, dated London, September 1st, 1756. Mr. Shipley secretary to the society, in whose behalf he wrote.

"Sir; I am ordered to acquaint you that the *Society for the Enco agement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce* have unanimously elec you a corresponding member; and it gives the Society a singular ple ure to place upon their list a gentleman, whose public spirit and unc mon abilities are so universally known, and so deservedly esteem They are glad to find their plan approved by you, and will always g great attention to what you shall judge most proper for their enc agement in America, which they hope from time to time you will ple to let them know. They return you thanks for your generous pres of twenty guineas, which their treasurer has received by the hands Mr. Collinson. They earnestly desire your correspondence, informati and advice."

My duty to mother, love to the children, and to Miss Betsey and Gracy, &c. &c. I am your *loving* husband, B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. I have *scratched out the loving words*, being writ in haste by mistake, when I *forgot I was angry.**

* When the above letter was written, the author was at Easton in Pennsylvania, attending a conference with the Indians. The successes of the French on the frontiers, and the disasters which followed Braddock's defeat, had excited the Indians to hostilities; and murders and other outrages had been committed by them even in the heart of the province. To counteract the influence of the French, and bring the Indians to a better temper, it was deemed expedient to hold an amicable conference with some of their chiefs. Governor Denny was present in person; and also William Logan and Richard Peters, on the part of the Council; and Benjamin Franklin, Joseph Fox, William Masters, and John Hughes, as delegates from the Assembly. The conference was opened at Easton, on the 8th of November. Teedyuscung, a king of the Delawares, residing at Wyoming, was the principal speaker for the Indians. He explained the reasons of the recent hostilities, but said, he was now at peace and wished to remain so. He promised to return all the prisoners, and demanded that the Indians, who had been taken, should likewise be sent back to him. He also complained of wrongs, which he had suffered.

"I do not want," said he, "to compel any of the Indians to return or to stay against their will. If they are inclined to stay and live among the English, I am quite willing they should go back again; but I want that they should come and see me, that thereby I may convince their relations, and the other nations afar off, that they are not servants, but free people."

"The kings of England and France," he added, "have settled or wrought this land, so as to coop us up as if in a pen. This very ground that is under me" (striking it with his foot) "was my land and inheritance, and is taken from me by fraud; when I say this ground, I mean all the land lying between Tohiccon Creek and Wyoming on the River Susquehanna. The Proprietaries, who have purchased their lands from us cheap, have sold them too dear to poor people, and the Indians have suffered for it. It would have been more prudent for the Proprietaries to sell the lands cheaper, and to have given it in charge to the people, who bought from them, to use the Indians with kindness on that account."

The governor asked him what he meant by fraud.

Teedyuscung replied; "When one man had formerly liberty to purchase lands, and he took the deeds from the Indians for it, and then died; after his death the children forge the deed for the true one, with

TO EDWARD AND JANE MECOM.

Philadelphia, 30 Decemoer, 1756.

DEAR BROTHER AND SISTER,

You will receive this by the hand of your son Ben jamin, on whose safe return from the West Indies sincerely congratulate you.

He has settled accounts with me, and paid the bal ance honorably. He has also cleared the old print ing-house to himself, and sent it to Boston, wher he purposes to set up his business, together wit bookselling, which, considering his industry and fru gality, I make no doubt will answer. He has goo

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the same Indian names to it, and thereby take lands from the Indiar which they never sold; this is fraud. Also when one king has land b yond the river, and another king has land on this side, both bounded b rivers, mountains, and springs, which cannot be moved, and the Propr etaries, greedy to purchase lands, buy of one king what belongs to a other; this is likewise fraud."

"All the land extending from Tohiccon Creek, over the great mou tain to Wyoming, has been taken from me by fraud; for, when I ha agreed to sell the land to the old Proprietary by the course of the rive the young Proprietaries came, and got it run by a straight course b the compass, and by that means took in double the quantity intende to be sold."

Though these charges were not allowed to be correct, yet the con missioners thought it advisable to put an end to the complaints of th Indians by satisfying their claims, and they offered to Teedyuscung suitable compensation. He declined accepting it, on the ground th other tribes besides his own were concerned, and must be consulte and concluded by saying, that in the spring he would bring them t gether for another treaty.

The manuscript minutes of this singular conference have been pr served in the archives of the American Philosophical Society. Th commissioners, who attended the conference on the part of the Assen bly, were not satisfied with the manner in which the minutes were r ported to that body by the governor, and they signed jointly an explar atory paper, which was probably drawn up by Franklin, and which printed in the "Votes and Proceedings of the Assembly," under th date of January 29th, 1757.

credit and some money in England, and I have helped him by lending him a little more; so that he may expect a cargo of books, and a quantity of new letter, in the spring; and I shall from time to time furnish him with paper. We all join in love to you and yours. I am your loving brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO ROBERT CHARLES.*

Sends Papers relating to Pennsylvania. — Bills of the Assembly rejected by the Governor.

Philadelphia, 1 February, 1757.

SIR,

By this ship you will receive a box containing sundry copies of our last years' Votes, to which are added, as you advised, the accounts of the expenditure of the fifty-five thousand pounds, and the subsequent thirty thousand. Also the papers relating to the employing of foreign officers. There is likewise in the box an authenticated copy of our late bill for granting one hundred thousand to the King's use, and of the vote appointing yourself and Mr. Partridge agents, under the great seal, with all the late messages. You will see in the Votes a copy of the Proprietary Instructions, in which a money bill is made for us by the Proprietary, sitting in his closet at one thousand leagues' distance.

The governor laid before us an estimate of the necessary expense for defending the province one year, amounting to one hundred and five thousand pounds. We knew our inability to bear the raising

* Many years agent in England for the Assembly of Pennsylvania.

of so great a sum in so short a time. We deducted the least necessary articles, and reduced it to one hundred thousand pounds, which we granted, and sent up the bill. Not that we thought this province capable of paying such a tax yearly, or any thing near it, but believing it necessary to exert ourselves at this time in an extraordinary manner, to save the country from total ruin by the enemy. The governor, to use his own polite word, REJECTS it. Your English kings, I think, are complaisant enough to say, *they will advise upon it.* We have no remedy here, but must obey the instruction, by which we are so confined, as to the time of rating the property to be taxed, the valuation of that property, and the sum per pound to be taxed on the valuation, that it is demonstrably impossible by such a law to raise one quarter of the money absolutely necessary to defend us. Three fourths of the troops must be disbanded, and so the country be exposed to the mercy of our enemies, rather than the least tittle of a Proprietary instruction should be deviated from!

I forbear to enlarge, because the House have unanimously desired your friend Mr. Norris, and myself, to go home immediately, to assist their agents in getting these matters settled. He has not yet determined; but, if he goes, you will by him be fully informed of every thing, and my going will not, in my opinion, be necessary. If he declines it, I may possibly soon have the pleasure of seeing you. I am with great respect, Sir, &c. B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. JANE MECOM.

Philadelphia, 21 February, 1757.

DEAR SISTER,

I am glad to hear your son has got well home. I like your conclusion not to take a house for him till summer, and, if he stays till his new letters arrive, perhaps it would not be amiss; for a good deal depends on the first appearance a man makes. As he will keep a bookseller's shop, with his printing-house, I don't know but it might be worth his while to set up at Cambridge.

I enclose you some whisk seed; it is a kind of corn, good for creatures; it must be planted in hills, like Indian corn. The tops make the best thatch in the world; and of the same are made the whisks you use for velvet. Pray try if it will grow with you. I brought it from Virginia. Give some to Mr. Cooper, some to Mr. Bowdoin. Love to cousin Sally, and her spouse. I wish them and you much joy. Love to brother, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO WILLIAM PARSONS.

Mission to England.

Philadelphia, 22 February, 1757.

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for the intelligence from Fort Allen, relating to the Indians. The commissioners have not yet settled your account, but I will press them to do it immediately. I have not heard from Mr. Stephenson, but will write to him once more.

And now, my dear old friend, I am to take leave

of you, being ordered home to England by the Assembly, to obtain some final settlement of the points, that have occasioned so many unhappy disputes. I assure you I go with the sincerest desire of procuring peace, and therein I know I shall have your prayers for my success. God bless you, and grant that at my return I may find you well and happy. I am, as ever, dear friend, yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.*

TO MISS CATHERINE RAY.

Philadelphia, 3 March, 1757.

DEAR KATY,

Being about to leave America for some time, I could not go without taking leave of my dear friend. I received your favor of the 8th of November, and am ashamed, that I have suffered it to remain so long

* On the 29th of January, the Assembly resolved, that Isaac Norris, the Speaker of the House, and Benjamin Franklin, should be requested to go to England, "as commissioners to solicit the removal of grievances occasioned by proprietary instructions, &c." When they were called upon to declare to the Assembly, whether they would comply with the request, Mr. Norris declined, and gave as a reason the state of his health. Mr. Franklin said, "that he esteemed the nomination by the House to that service as a high honor, but that he thought, if the Speaker could be prevailed on to undertake it, his long experience in public affairs, and great knowledge and abilities, would render the addition of another unnecessary; that he held himself, however, in the disposition of the House, and was ready to go whenever they should think fit to require his service." It was then resolved, "that Benjamin Franklin be, and he is hereby appointed Agent of this province, to solicit and transact the affairs thereof in Great Britain." See *Votes and Proceedings, February 3d.* His son was at this time clerk of the House, and it was resolved, "That William Franklin have leave to resign his office of clerk of this House, that he may accompany his father, appointed one of the commissioners to negotiate our affairs in England, and that another person be chosen to serve as clerk during the absence of the said Franklin."—*February 18th.*

unanswered, especially as now, through shortness of time, I cannot chat with you in any manner agreeably.

I can only wish you well and happy, which I do most cordially. Present my best compliments to your good mamma, brother and sister Ward, and all your other sisters, the agreeable Misses Ward, Dr. Babcock and family, the charitable Misses Stanton, and, in short, to all that love me. I should have said all that love you, but that would be giving you too much trouble. Adieu, dear good girl, and believe me ever your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

On his Journey to New York, where he is to take Passage for England.

Trenton, 5 April, 1757.

MY DEAR CHILD,

We found the roads much better than we expected, and got here well before night. My kind friend Mr. Griffith's carriage appearing too weak in the wheels, I have accepted Mr. Masters's obliging offer, and take his carriage forward from this place, and he will return to town in Mr. Griffith's. About a dozen of our friends accompanied us quite hither, to see us out of the province, and we spent a very agreeable evening together. I leave home, and undertake this long voyage, the more cheerfully, as I can rely on your prudence in the management of my affairs and education of our dear child; and yet I cannot forbear once more recommending her to you with a father's tenderest concern. My love to all. If the roads do

not prove worse, we may be at Woodbridge to-night. I believe I did not see Mr. Dunlap when I came away, so as to take leave of him; my love to him. Billy presents his duty and love to all. I am your affectionate husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. JANE MECOM.

Habits of Old Age.

New York, 19 April, 1757.

DEAR SISTER,

I wrote a few lines to you yesterday, but omitted to answer yours, relating to sister Dowse. As *having their own way* is one of the greatest comforts of life to old people, I think their friends should endeavour to accommodate them in that, as well as in any thing else. When they have long lived in a house, it becomes natural to them; they are almost as closely connected with it, as the tortoise with his shell; they die, if you tear them out of it; old folks and old trees, if you remove them, it is ten to one that you kill them; so let our good old sister be no more importuned on that head. We are growing old fast ourselves, and shall expect the same kind of indulgences; if we give them, we shall have a right to receive them in our turn.

And as to her few fine things, I think she is in the right not to sell them, and for the reason she gives, that they will fetch but little; when that little is spent, they would be of no further use to her; but perhaps the expectation of possessing them at her death may make that person tender and careful of her, and helpful to her to the amount of ten times

their value. If so, they are put to the best use they possibly can be.

I hope you visit sister as often as your affairs will permit, and afford her what assistance and comfort you can in her present situation. *Old age, infirmities,* and *poverty,* joined, are afflictions enough. The *neglect* and *slights* of friends and near relations should never be added. People in her circumstances are apt to suspect this sometimes without cause; *appearances* should therefore be attended to, in our conduct towards them, as well as *realities.* I write by this post to cousin Williams, to continue his care, which I doubt not he will do.

We expect to sail in about a week, so that I can hardly hear from you again on this side the water; but let me have a line from you now and then, while I am in London. I expect to stay there at least a twelvemonth. Direct your letters to be left for me at the Pennsylvania Coffee-house, in Birchin Lane, London. My love to all, from, dear sister, your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. April 25th. We are still here, and perhaps may be here a week longer. Once more adieu, my dear sister.

TO MRS. JANE MECOM.

Domestic Economy.

Woodbridge, New Jersey, 21 May, 1757.

DEAR SISTER,

I received your kind letter of the 9th instant, in which you acquainted me with some of your late

troubles. These are troublesome times to us all; but perhaps you have had more than you should. I am glad to hear, that Peter is at a place where he has full employ. A trade is a valuable thing; but, unless a habit of industry be acquired with it, it turns out of little use; if he gets *that* in his new place, it will be a happy exchange, and the occasion not an unfortunate one. It is very agreeable to me to hear so good an account of your other children; in such a number to have no bad ones is a great happiness.

The horse sold very low indeed. If I wanted one to-morrow, knowing his goodness, old as he is, I should freely give more than twice the money for him; but you did the best you could, and I will take of Benny no more than he produced.

I don't doubt but Benny will do very well when he gets to work; but I fear his things from England may be so long a coming, as to occasion the loss of the rent. Would it not be better for you to move into the house? Perhaps not, if he is near being married. I know nothing of that affair, but what you write me, except that I think Miss Betsey a very agreeable, sweet-tempered, good girl, who has had a housewifely education, and will make, to a good husband, a very good wife. Your sister and I have a great esteem for her; and, if she will be kind enough to accept of our nephew, we think it will be his own fault, if he is not as happy as the married state can make him. The family is a respectable one, but whether there be any fortune I know not; and, as you do not inquire about this particular, I suppose you think with me, that where every thing else desirable is to be met with, that is not very material. If she does not *bring* a fortune, she will help to *make* one. Industry, frugality, and prudent economy in a

wife, are to a tradesman, in their effects, a fortune; and a fortune sufficient for Benjamin, if his expectations are reasonable. We can only add, that, if the young lady and her friends are willing, we give our consent heartily, and our blessing. My love to brother and the children. Your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. If Benny will promise to be one of the tenderest husbands in the world, I give my consent. He knows already what I think of Miss Betsey. I am his loving aunt,

DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

Delayed at New York. — Lord Loudoun. — Reports of a French Fleet off the Coast.

New York, Friday, 27 May, 1757.

MY DEAR DEBBY,

Mr. Parker being doubtful this morning whether the rain would permit his setting out to-day, I had prepared no letter to send by Sally, when he took a sudden resolution to go. Mr. Colden* could not spare his daughter, as she helps him in the post-office, he having no clerk. I enclose only the fourth bills, which you are to put up safe with my writings. The first set I take with me, the second goes by Radford, and I now send the third by Bonnel.

All the packets are to sail together with the fleet, but when that will be is yet uncertain; for yesterday came in three privateers with several prizes, and by

* Mr. Alexander Colden, who was postmaster in New York.

them there is advice that the French fleet, which wa in the West Indies, is come to the northward; an now it is questioned whether it will be thought pru dent for these transports to sail till there is certai advice, that the grand fleet is arrived from England This, however, is only town talk.

I send Mr. Kneeland's letter. Pray forward th paper he writes for, by the first opportunity. I sen a memorandum received from Joseph Crocker, with note on the back of it. I leave it to yourself whethe to go home directly, or stay a little longer. If I fin we are not likely to sail for some time, I shall per haps step down again to Woodbridge, and try to fin ish my work. But it may be, that your longer absenc from home will be attended with some inconvenience I am making up a bundle of papers to send you Put them into my room. I can hear nothing yet o the clothes.

I have been very low-spirited all day. This te dious state of uncertainty and long waiting have al most worn out my patience. Except the two or thre weeks at Woodbridge, I know not when I have spen time so uselessly, as since I left Philadelphia.

I left my best spectacles on the table. Please t send them to me.

Saturday Morning. — Jemmy got here early, an tells me Mr. Parker and the children got well down In my room on the folio shelf between the clock an our bedchamber, stands a folio, called the *Gardi ner's Dictionary, by P. Miller.* And on the sam side of the room, on the lowest shelf or lowest bu one, near the middle, and by the side of a little par tition, you will find standing or rather lying on it fore edge a quarto pamphlet, covered with blue pa

per, called a *Treatise on Cider-making*. Deliver those two books to Mr. Parker.

Sunday Afternoon. — Yesterday, while I was at my Lord's,* with whom I had the honor to dine, word was brought in that five sail of French men-of-war were seen off Egg Harbour the day before; and, as some of the French prisoners lately brought in report, that such a number of men-of-war sailed with them from the West Indies to go to the northward, these vessels might be supposed to be the same, if the account from Egg Harbour was true. If on examination it be found true, and the French take it into their heads to cruise off this port with such a force, we shall then be shut up here for some time, for our fleet here is not of force sufficient to venture out. If this story be not true, yet it is thought by some we shall hardly sail till there is certain advice of the English fleet being arrived at Halifax, and perhaps not till a convoy comes from thence to guard us. So I am wavering whether I had not best go down again to Woodbridge and finish my books.

I spent last evening with Mr. Nichol's family, who all desired their compliments to you and Sally. I send you one of the French books translated.

Monday Morning. — Our going is yet uncertain. I believe I shall put every thing on board to-morrow, and either go down again to Woodbridge or send for the trunk of books hither to employ myself till we have sailed. The report of French men-of-war off the coast is vanished. I am, my dear Debby, your ever loving husband, B. FRANKLIN.

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* Lord Loudoun, who had lately arrived as commander-in-chief in America, being successor to General Shirley.

TO ISAAC NORRIS.*

The Voyage delayed. — Interviews with Lord Loudoun respecting Payment for Servants enlisted into the Army by the King's Officers in Pennsylvania.

New York, 30 May, 1757.

SIR,

After waiting here above seven weeks for the sailing of the packet, the time of her sailing is no more certain now than it was on the day of our arrival. The packets, as it is now said, are all three to sail with the fleet; the two first to be dismissed soon after the fleet is at sea; the third to go with the fleet to the place of rendezvous, and not to be discharged till the arrival and junction of the fleet from England. But this is not certain; resolutions change as advices are received, or occurrences arise, and it is doubtful whether the fleet will sail from hence till there is certain news of the arrival of that from England, since there is intelligence that Beaufremont's squadron is gone from the West Indies to the northward.

I have had the honor of several conferences with my Lord Loudoun, on the subject of the servants.† His Lordship objects, first, that it appears by the list, which

* For many years Speaker of the Assembly in Pennsylvania.

† It was common for emigrants, of the poorer class, to pay for their passage by selling their time for a certain number of years to the captain, in whose ship they came over. The time, or term of service, thus pledged, was sold by the captain, after his arrival in port, to farmers in the country. During the war, it had been a practice of the recruiting officers to enlist these servants into the army, thus depriving the farmers of their services, and of the value that had been paid for them. Redress was sought from the government, and Franklin was instructed to lay the subject before Lord Loudoun, the commander-in-chief of the army. Other particulars respecting emigrant servants, and the enlistment of them, may be seen in SPARKS's edition of *Washington's Writings*, Vol. II. pp. 168, 189, 199.

I laid before him, that many of the servants were enlisted in General Braddock's and General Shirley's time. With those he has nothing to do. Secondly, that many were enlisted before the act of Parliament appointed satisfaction to be made to the masters; and, as the lawyers all agree that the right to take them without pay was clearly in the King before the act, no satisfaction should be made or expected for these. Thirdly, that the particular proofs of the loss of each servant, and of his being enlisted in the King's service, do not appear. Fourthly, that the affair is now so intricate and perplexed, that it would take more time to examine and settle it, than he can possibly spare. Fifthly, that, if his officers had done wrong in not paying for the servants, as they took them, the fault was our own; it was owing to some principal people among ourselves, whom he could name, who had always assured the officers, that the Assembly intended to pay for the servants, and by that means led them into the error.

His Lordship made several other observations and objections, all which I answered and endeavoured to remove as well as I could; but there is, I believe, one at bottom, which it is not in my power to remove, and that is the want of money. The expenses of an American war necessarily run very high, and are complained of by some in England; and his Lordship is unwilling to discourage the ministry at home by large charges. He will therefore mix none of those of his predecessors with his own. He makes the most frugal agreements, and avoids all payments, that he can avoid with honor. For instance, there is a balance not very large due to me, on my account of wagons and forage supplies to General Braddock. I presented the account to his Lordship, who had it

examined and compared with the vouchers; and, on report made to him that it was right, ordered a warrant to be drawn for the payment; but, before he signed it, he sent for me, told me that as the money became due before his time, he had rather not mix it in his accounts, if it would be the same thing to me to receive it in England. He believed it a fair and just account, and as such would represent it at home, so that I should meet with no difficulty in getting it paid there. I agreed to his Lordship's proposal, and the warrant was laid aside.

I once proposed to his Lordship, that, if he would appoint, or advise Governor Denny to appoint, some persons of credit in Pennsylvania to examine the claims of the masters, and report to his Lordship at the end of the campaign, it would for the present make the minds of the sufferers more easy; and he could then order payment for such part as he should find right for him to pay, and we might endeavour to procure satisfaction elsewhere for the rest. His Lordship declined this, saying, that he knew not whom to appoint, being unacquainted with the people; that he did not care to trouble Governor Denny with it, of whom he must ask it as a favor; and besides, auditors, in the plantations, of accounts against the crown had in many instances been so partial and corrupt, that they had lost all credit. If he appointed auditors, they must be some of the officers of the army, who understood the affair; and at present they were engaged in other duties.

I will not trouble you with a detail of all I said to his Lordship on this affair, though I omitted nothing material that occurred to me; but I find he is for keeping the matter in suspense, without either promising payment or refusing to pay; perhaps till he re-

ceives directions about it from home. He does not seem willing, however, that I should make any application there relating to it, and chooses to keep the list in his hands, till his return from the campaign.

The list is, indeed, so very imperfect, that I could not promise myself much in laying it before him. Of many servants it is not noted by what officers, or in what company, or even in what regiment they were enlisted; of others, the time they were bound for, or had served, or had still to serve, is omitted. Of others, no notice is taken of the price they cost; nor is there any distinction of apprentices; though perhaps the account is the best that could be obtained, the time and other circumstances considered. Upon the whole, as the inquiry, if it is ever made by my Lord's order, will be by officers of the army, they being, in his Lordship's opinion, the fittest persons and most impartial; as all enlistments before the commencement of his command will be rejected, and also all before the act of Parliament; as very clear proofs of every circumstance, when the servant was enlisted, by what officer, of what regiment, and the like, will be insisted on, and the recruiting officers at the time took such effectual care to prevent the master's knowing any thing of these circumstances; I am inclined to think very little benefit will be produced by such inquiry; and that our application at home for some allowance on that account will be better founded on what the Assembly, after their own inquiry, have thought themselves obliged to pay, than on such an imperfect list as has been sent to me. This, however, I submit; and, if it should still be thought proper to apply in England on the footing of the list, another copy must be forwarded by some future opportunity.

His Lordship has on all occasions treated me with the greatest goodness, but I find frequently, that wrong prejudices are infused into his mind against our province. We have too many enemies among ourselves; but I hope in time things will wear a better face. Please to present my humble respects to the House, and believe me, with great esteem, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. JANE MECOM.

Family Concerns. — Rules of Conduct. — Habits of Industry.

New York, 30th May, 1757.

DEAR SISTER,

I have before me yours of the 9th and 16th instant. I am glad you have resolved to visit sister Dowse oftener; it will be a great comfort to her, to find she is not neglected by you, and your example may, perhaps, be followed by some others of her relations.

As Neddy is yet a young man, I hope he may get over the disorder he complains of, and in time wear it out. My love to him and his wife, and the rest of your children. It gives me pleasure to hear, that Eben is likely to get into business at his trade. If he will be industrious and frugal, it is ten to one but he gets rich, for he seems to have spirit and activity.

I am glad that Peter is acquainted with the crown-soap business so as to make what is good of the kind. I hope he will always take care to make it faithfully, and never slight the manufacture, or attempt to deceive by appearances. Then he may boldly put his name and mark, and in a little time it will acquire as good a character, as that made by his late uncle, or

any other person whatever. I believe his aunt at Philadelphia can help him to sell a good deal of it; and I doubt not of her doing every thing in her power to promote his interest in that way. Let a box be sent to her (but not unless it be right good) and she will immediately return the ready money for it. It was beginning once to be in vogue in Philadelphia, but brother John sent me one box, an ordinary sort, which checked its progress. I would not have him put the Franklin arms on it; but the soapboilers' arms he has a right to use, if he thinks fit. The other would look too much like an attempt to counterfeit. In his advertisements, he may value himself on serving his time with the original maker, but put his own mark or device on the papers, or any thing he may be advised to as proper; only on the soap, as it is called by the name of crown-soap, it seems necessary to use a stamp of that sort, and perhaps no soapboiler in the King's dominions has a better right to the crown than himself.

Nobody has wrote a syllable to me concerning his making use of the hammer, or made the least complaint of him or you. I am sorry, however, that he took it without leave. It was irregular, and if you had not approved of his doing it, I should have thought it indiscreet. *Leave*, they say, *is light*, and it seems to me a piece of respect that was due to his aunt, to ask it, and I can scarce think she would have refused him the favor.

I am glad to hear Johnny is so good and diligent a workman. If he ever sets up at the goldsmith's business, he must remember, that there is one accomplishment without which he cannot possibly thrive in that trade, that is, *perfect honesty*. It is a business, that, though ever so uprightly managed, is always liable to suspicion; and if a man is once detected in the small-

est fraud, it soon becomes public, and every one is put upon his guard against him; no one will venture to try his wares, or trust him to make up his plate; so at once he is ruined. I hope my nephew will, therefore, establish a character as an *honest* and faithful, as well as *skilful* workman, and then he need not fear for employment.

And now, as to what you propose for Benny, I believe he may be, as you say, well enough qualified for it; and, when he appears to be settled, if a vacancy should happen, it is very probable he may be thought of to supply it; but it is a rule with me not to remove any officer, that behaves well, keeps regular accounts, and pays duly; and I think the rule is founded on reason and justice. I have not shown any backwardness to assist Benny, where it could be done without injuring another. But if my friends require of me to gratify not only their inclinations, but their resentments, they expect too much of me. Above all things I dislike family quarrels, and, when they happen among my relations, nothing gives me more pain. If I were to set myself up as a judge of those subsisting between you and brother's widow and children, how unqualified must I be, at this distance, to determine rightly, especially having heard but one side. They always treated me with friendly and affectionate regard; you have done the same. What can I say between you, but that I wish you were reconciled, and that I will love that side best, that is most ready to forgive and oblige the other? You will be angry with me here, for putting you and them too much upon a footing; but I shall nevertheless be, dear sister, your truly affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

New York, 2 June. 1757.

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have just received yours of the 29th. You do not tell me whether you take the trunk of books with you, but I suppose you do. It is now said we are all to go on board to-morrow, and sail down to the Hook. I hope it will be so, for, having now nothing to do, my stay here is extremely tedious. Please to give my respects to Mrs. Moore, and assure her that I will take care of her letters. You will find sundry parcels that came from London, some directed to the Library Company, some for Mr. Bartram. Deliver them, if not delivered. Desire Mr. Normandy to send after me a fresh memorandum of what he wanted, Mr. Collinson having lost the former.

I hope my dear Sally will behave in every thing to your satisfaction, and mind her learning and improvement As my absence will make your house quieter, and lessen your business, you will have the more leisure to instruct her and form her. I pray God to bless you both, and that we may once more have a happy meeting. God preserve, guard, and guide you.

It is a doubt whether your next letters will reach us here. Billy joins with me in love to all friends, and presents his duty to you and love to his sister. My duty to mother and love to all the family. I shall endeavour to write to you once more before we sail, being as ever, my dear child, your affectionate husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

CORRESPONDENCE,

PART SECOND;

COMPRISING

LETTERS, PRIVATE AND OFFICIAL,

FROM

THE TIME OF THE AUTHOR'S FIRST MISSION TO ENGLAND,

TO

THE BEGINNING OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

1757 — 1775.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

His Arrival in London.

London, 27 July, 1757.

MY DEAR CHILD,

We arrived here well last night, only a little fatigued with the last day's journey, being seventy miles. I write only this line, not knowing of any opportunity of sending it; but Mr. Collinson will inquire for one, as he is going out. If he finds one, I shall write more largely. I have just seen Mr. Strahan, who is well, with his family. Billy is with me here at Mr. Collinson's, and presents his duty to you and love to his sister. My love to all. I am, my dear child, your loving husband, B. FRANKLIN.*

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

His long Illness. — Dr. Fothergill. — Miscellaneous Affairs. — Society of agreeable Friends in London. — Mrs. Stevenson and Miss Mary Stevenson.

London, 22 November, 1757.

MY DEAR CHILD,

During my illness, which continued near eight weeks, I wrote you several little letters, as I was able. The

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* The packet, in which he sailed, was bound to Falmouth. In his autobiography, after describing the voyage, his narrow escape from ship-

last was by the packet which sailed from Falmouth above a week since. In that I informed you, that my intermitting fever, which had continued to harass me by frequent relapses, was gone off, and I have ever since been gathering strength and flesh. My doctor, Fothergill, who had forbid me the use of pen and ink, now permits me to write as much as I can without over fatiguing myself, and therefore I sit down to write more fully than I have hitherto been able to do.

The 2d of September I wrote to you, that I had had a violent cold and something of a fever, but that it was almost gone. However, it was not long before I had another severe cold, which continued longer than the first, attended by great pain in my head, the top of which was very hot, and when the pain went off, very sore and tender. These fits of pain continued sometimes longer than at others; seldom less than twelve hours, and once thirty-six hours. I was now and then a little delirious; they cupped me on the back of the head, which seemed to ease me for the present; I took a great deal of bark, both in substance and infusion, and too soon thinking myself well, I ventured out twice, to do a little business and forward the service I am engaged in, and both times got fresh cold and fell down again. My good doctor grew very angry with me for acting contrary to his cautions and directions, and obliged me to promise more observance for the future. He attended me very carefully and affectionately; and the good lady of the house nursed me kindly.* Billy was also of great service to

wreck on the Scilly Rocks, and his arrival in port, he adds; "I set out immediately, with my son, for London, and we only stopped a little by the way to view Stonehenge, on Salisbury Plain, and Lord Pemberton's house and gardens, with the very curious antiquities at Wilton."

* This lady was Mrs. Margaret Stevenson, who kept a boarding-house in Craven Street, near the Strand, and with whom Dr. Franklin lived

me, in going from place to place, where I could not go myself, and Peter was very diligent and attentive. I took sc much bark in various ways, that I began to abhor it I durst not take a vomit, for fear of my head; but at last I was seized one morning with a vomiting and purging, the latter of which continued the greater part of the day, and I believe was a kind of crisis to the distemper, carrying it clear off; for ever since I feel quite lightsome, and am every day gathering strength; so I hope my seasoning is over, and that I

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during the whole fifteen years of his residence in London. For Mrs. Stevenson, and her daughter, Miss Mary Stevenson, who at this time was eighteen years old, he formed a strong attachment, which continued through life. His first acquaintance with Mrs. Stevenson was accidental, he being recommended to her house by some of his Pennsylvania friends who had boarded there. Miss Stevenson was a young lady of excellent sense, and of a highly cultivated mind, and some of his best letters on philosophical and other subjects were written to her. They may be seen in various parts of this work. In the London Guide Books, "No. 7, Craven Street," is still indicated as the house in which Dr. Franklin resided.

Miss Stevenson's time was mostly passed in the country with Mrs. Tickell, her aunt; and this absence from her mother's house was the cause of the correspondence between her and Dr. Franklin, who recommended books for her reading, directed her studies, and answered her philosophical inquiries. She was married in the year 1770 to William Hewson, a distinguished anatomist, who is known by his numerous papers in the Philosophical Transactions, and particularly by his work on the "Lymphatic System." As a reward for his anatomical discoveries he was honored with the Copley Medal. He was likewise elected a fellow of the Royal Society. He died in 1774, thus terminating a brilliant career at the early age of thirty-four. His widow was left with three infant children. In the mean time her fortune was increased by the death of an aunt, and she devoted herself to the care of her mother, and the education of her children. Mrs. Stevenson, her mother, died in January, 1783. Mrs. Hewson continued to reside in England till 1786, when she came over with her children to Philadelphia. She lived there till 1792, and then removed to Bristol in Pennsylvania, where her eldest son had established himself, and where she died, on the 14th of October, 1795. This son went afterwards to Vera Cruz, and died there in 1802. Her other son, now an eminent physician, and her daughter, Mrs. Caldwell, are still living (1837) in Philadelphia.

shall enjoy better health during the rest of my stay in England.

I thank you for writing to me so frequently and fully. I believe I have missed none of your letters yet, but those by Lyon, who was taken. You mention Mr. Scott's being robbed, but do not say to what value. Was it considerable? I have seen Mr. Ralph, and delivered him Mrs. Garrigues's letter. He is removed from Turnham Green. When I return, I will tell you every thing relating to him. In the mean time I must advise Mrs. Garrigues not to write to him again, till I send her word how to direct her letters, he being unwilling, for some good reasons, that his present wife should know any thing of his having any connexions in America. He expresses great affection for his daughter and grandchildren. He has but one child here.

I have found David Edwards, and send you some of his letters, with one for his father. I am glad to hear that our friends at Newark got well through the smallpox.

The above particulars are in answer to things mentioned in your letters, and so are what follow.

Governor Shirley's affairs are still in an uncertain state; he is endeavouring to obtain an inquiry into his conduct, but the confusion of public affairs occasions it to be postponed. He and I visit frequently. I make no doubt but reports will be spread by my enemies to my disadvantage, but let none of them trouble you. If I find I can do my country no good, I will take care at least not to do it any harm; I will neither seek nor expect any thing for myself; and, though I may perhaps not be able to obtain for the people what they wish and expect, no interest shall induce me to betray the trust they have reposed in

me; so make yourself quite easy with regard to such reports.

Mr. Hunter is better than he has been for a long time. He and his sister desire to be remembered to you. I believe I left the seal with Mr. Parker. I am glad to hear that Mr. Boudinot has so seasonable a supply; and hope he will not go to mining again. I am obliged to all my friends that visit you in my absence. My love to them.

Mr. Ralph delivered me your letters very obligingly; he is well respected by people of value here. I thank you for sending me brother Johnny's journal; I hope he is well, and sister Read and the children. I am sorry to hear of Mr. Burt's death. He came to me at New York, with a proposal that I did not approve of, but it showed his good will and respect for me; when I return, I will tell you what it was. I shall entertain Mr. Collinson and Dr. Fothergill with your account of Teedyuskung's visit.

I should have read Sally's French letter with more pleasure, but that I thought the French rather too good to be all her own composing. I suppose her master must have corrected it. But I am glad she is improving in that and her music; I send her a French Pamela.

You were very lucky in not insuring the rum. We are obliged to Mr. Booth for his care in that remittance. I suppose you have wrote to acknowledge the receipt of it. I have not yet seen Mr. Burkett. I am not much surprised at Green's behaviour; he has not an honest principle, I fear. I have not yet seen Mr. Walsteinholme, but he is arrived. I am glad you went to Elizabethtown, and that Ben has got that good girl. I hope they will do well. When you write, remember my love to her.

December 3*d.*—I write by little and little as I can find time. I have now gone through all your agreeable letters, which give me fresh pleasure every time I read them. Last night I received another, dated October 16th, which brings me the good news, that you and Sally were got safe home; your last, of the 9th, being from Elizabethtown. Budden's ship is not yet come up to London, but is daily expected, having been some time at Cowes. Mr. Hall has sent me a bill, as you mention. Mr. Walsteinholme is come to town, and I expect to see him to-day. When I have inquired how things are with Green, I shall write some directions to you what to do in the affair.

I am glad to hear that Miss Ray is well, and that you correspond. It is not convenient to be forward in giving advice in such cases. She has prudence enough to judge for herself, and I hope she will judge and act for the best.

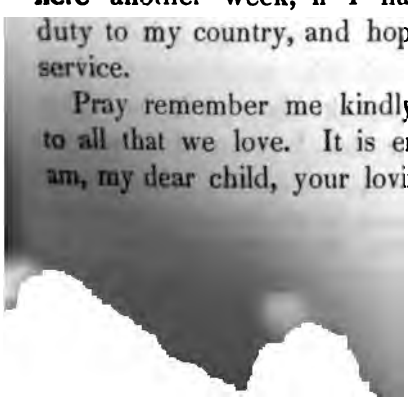
I hear there has a miniature painter gone over to Philadelphia, a relation to John Reynolds. If Sally's picture is not done to your mind by the young man, and the other gentleman is a good hand and follows the business, suppose you get Sally's done by him, and send it to me with your small picture, that I may here get all our little family drawn in one conversation piece. I am sorry to hear of the general sickness; I hope it is over before this time; and that little Franky is recovered.

I was as much disappointed in my intention of writing by the packet, as you were in not receiving letters, and it has since given me a great deal of vexation. I wrote to you [illegible] way of New York, the day after my arrival in I[illegible], which I do not find you have received.

I do not use to [illegible]ard [illegible]ndent, though

my sickness has brought me behindhand with my friends in that respect. Had I been well, I intended to have gone round among the shops, and bought some pretty things for you and my dear good Sally (whose little hands you say eased your headache), to send by this ship, but I must now defer it to the next, having only got a crimson satin cloak for you, the newest fashion, and the black silk for Sally; but Billy sends her a scarlet feather, muff, and tippet, and a box of fashionable linen for her dress. In the box is a thermometer for Mr. Taylor, and one for Mr. Schlatter, which you will carefully deliver; as also a watch for Mr. Schlatter. I shall write to them. The black silk was sent to Mr. Neates, who undertook to forward it in some package of his.

It is now twelve days since I began to write this letter, and I still continue well, but have not yet quite recovered my strength, flesh, or spirits. I every day drink a glass of infusion of bark in wine, by way of prevention, and hope my fever will no more return. On fair days, which are but few, I venture out about noon. The agreeable conversation I meet with among men of learning, and the notice taken of me by persons of distinction, are the principal things that soothe me for the present under this painful absence from my family and friends. Yet those would not keep me here another week, if I had not other inducements; duty to my country, and hopes of being able to do it service.



Pray remember me kindly to all that love us, and to all that we love. It is endless to name names. I am, my dear child, your loving husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

FROM WILLIAM STRAHAN TO MRS. FRANKLIN.*

Remarks on the Character of her Husband. — Invites her to come to London.

London, 13 December, 1757.

DEAR MADAM,

I will not write to you, for the future, as a stranger whom I never had the happiness of seeing, but as to one with whom I have been for some time acquainted for, having had the pleasure for several months past to be personally known to what you will readily allow to be your better half, you will permit me to fancy, I am by no means ignorant of the essential qualities of the other.

I had for many years conceived a very high, and now find a very just, opinion of Mr. Franklin. This I was naturally led to by the concurring testimony of everybody, who knew him, (for the voice of his enemies, if he had any, never reached me,) and by the opportunities I have had of judging for myself, during my correspondence with him for a dozen years. But though the notion I had formed of him, in my own mind, before I had the pleasure of seeing him, was really, as far as it went, just enough, I must confess it was very unequal to what I know his singular merit deserves.

I own it is somewhat odd to entertain a lady with the character of her husband, who must herself, of all others, be the least ignorant in that particular. But as all, who know me, know that I cannot help speak-

* Mr. Strahan was a printer, eminent for his talents, the integrity of his character, and his success in life. He acquired wealth by his industry, and political distinction as a member of Parliament. See Vol IV. p. 258. He died on the 9th of July, 1785, at the age of seventy.

ing my sentiments freely on any subject that strikes me in a great degree, so I choose to write my mind in regard to Mr. Franklin, before all others, to you, because you are the most unexceptionable judge of the truth and propriety of what I say, and because I am persuaded you will listen to me, not only with patience but with pleasure; and indeed, whatever your own personal qualities may be, however amiable and engaging in my mind, your being the choice of such a man must add greatly to your honor. To be the wife of one, who has so much ability, inclination, and success, if you view him in a public capacity, in being eminently useful to his country, must necessarily confer on you great reputation; and to be the bosom friend of one, who is equally fitted to promote any kind of domestic happiness, must as necessarily be the constant spring of the most substantial comfort to you.

For my own part, I never saw a man who was, in every respect, so perfectly agreeable to me. Some are amiable in one view, some in another, he in all. Now, Madam, as I know the ladies here consider him in exactly the same light I do, upon my word I think you should come over, with all convenient speed, to look after your interest; not but that I think him as faithful to his Joan,* as any man breathing; but who knows what repeated and strong temptation may in time, and while he is at so great a distance from you, accomplish? Besides, what a delightful expedition would this be to Miss Franklin, and how must it amuse and improve her, to see and live a while in this great city. I know you will object to the length

* Alluding to stanzas written some time before by Franklin, (see above, p. 92) beginning,

"Of their Chloes and Phyllises poets may prate,
I sing my plain country Joan," &c.

of the voyage and the danger of the seas; but truly this is more terrible in apprehension than in reality. Of all the ways of travelling, it is the easiest and most expeditious; and, as for the danger, there has not a soul been lost between Philadelphia and this, in my memory; and I believe not one ship taken by the enemy.

Is the trouble and risk, then, of such a voyage to be compared in any degree with the pleasure it will afford you and your best friends? By no means. Instead of being afraid of the sea, we ought to have a particular regard for it, as it is so far from being a bar to the communication and intercourse of different and far distant countries, that it facilitates their correspondence in a very high degree. Nay more, it conveys in the floating castles of your mother country hat protection and assistance, which I trust will soon give peace to your borders. I might urge as an additional inducement for you to come over in the spring, that the important business, with which Mr. Franklin is charged in the service of his country, (which I dare say you would wish above all things may be brought to a happy conclusion) may very probably detain him more than one season, which will exhaust your patience to such a degree, that you may repent, when too late, you did not listen to my advice.

Your son I really think one of the prettiest young gentlemen I ever knew from America. He seems to me to have a solidity of judgment, not very often to be met with in one of his years. This, with the daily opportunities he has of improving himself in the company of his father, who is at the same time his friend, his brother, his intimate and easy companion, affords an agreeable prospect, that your husband's virtues and usefulness to his country may be prolonged beyond the date of his own life.

Your daughter, (I wish I could call her mine,) I find by the reports of all who know her, is a very amiable girl in all respects; but of her I shall say nothing, till I have the pleasure of seeing her. Only I must observe to you, that being the mistress of such a family is a degree of happiness perhaps the greatest that falls to the lot of humanity. I sincerely wish you, very long, the unabated enjoyment of them. I leave it to your friend to write you every thing from this place, you would desire to know. But I cannot take my leave of you without informing you, that Mr. Franklin has the good fortune to lodge with a very discreet gentlewoman, who is particularly careful of him, who attended him during a very severe cold he was some time ago seized with, with an assiduity, concern, and tenderness, which perhaps only yourself could equal; so that I don't think you could have a better substitute, till you come over to take him under your own protection. He is now perfectly recovered.

My own family are, I thank God, just now in perfect health. My wife joins me in kindest compliments to you and dear Miss, not forgetting her honest son David * and his fireside. I wish you a speedy and happy meeting with your friends on this side of the water, which will give great pleasure to, dear Madam, your most affectionate humble servant,

WILLIAM STRAHAN.

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* David Hall, the partner of Franklin in the printing business. See above, p. 30. The word "son" is here probably used only as a term of endearment, and not to express relationship.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

Domestic Affairs.

London, 14 January, 1758

DEAR DEBBY,

I wrote a very long letter to you lately, two whole sheets full, containing answers to all yours received during my sickness. I have since received your kind favors of November 13th and 16th. It has given me great concern, that you should be so disappointed in having no letters by Captain Lutwidge. You know by this time how it happened; but I wonder you should expect letters from me by the way of Ireland, it being quite out of my knowledge when vessels are to sail from thence.

I am thankful to God for sparing my little family in that time of general sickness, and hope to find them all well at my return. The New York paper you sent me was the latest that came, and of use to our friend Strahan. He has offered to lay me a considerable wager, that a letter he has wrote to you will bring you immediately over hither; but I tell him I will not pick his pocket; for I am sure there is no inducement strong enough to prevail with you to cross the seas. I should be glad if I could tell you when I expected to be at home, but that is still in the dark; it is possible I may not be able to get away this summer; but I hope, if I stay another winter, it will be more agreeable than the greatest part of the time I have hitherto spent in England. But, however, I must bring my business to some conclusion.

I received Sally's letter of November 12th, but cannot now write to her. I wrote to my friends generally by the last packet, and shall write to them again

by a ship of Mr. Ralph's, to sail from here in about a fortnight. I am not yet quite so hearty as before my illness; but I think I am daily stronger and better, so I hope I have had my seasoning; but much writing still disorders me.

My duty to mother,* and love to Sally, Debby, Mr. Dunlap, and all friends that inquire after me. I am, my dear child, your ever loving husband,

B. FRANKLIN

P. S. Billy presents his duty to you and mother, and love to his sister.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

London, 21 January, 1758.

MY DEAR CHILD,

Mr. Lorimer, a friend who is going over to General Abercromby, to assist him as secretary, called on me just now, to acquaint me that he is on the point of setting out. I seize a minute or two just to let you know we are well, that is, I am well, compared to what I have been during a great part of the time since my arrival, and I hope with the spring to recover my full strength. Billy is quite hearty, and presents his duty, love, &c.

I have wrote to you by several opportunities lately, and particularly one long letter of two sheets, which I hope will come to hand, as it contained a full answer to a number of yours, received during my illness, and I have no copy of it.

I begin to think I shall hardly be able to return

* Probably Mrs. Read, the mother of Mrs. Franklin.

before this time twelve months. I am for doing effectually what I came about; and I find it requires both time and patience. You may think, perhaps, that I can find many amusements here to pass the time agreeably. It is true, the regard and friendship I meet with from persons of worth, and the conversation of ingenious men, give me no small pleasure; but, at this time of life, domestic comforts afford the most solid satisfaction, and my uneasiness at being absent from my family, and longing desire to be with them, make me often sigh in the midst of cheerful company.

My love to my dear Sally. I confide in you the care of her and her education. I promise myself the pleasure of finding her much improved at my return. While I am writing, three letters came in, one from Mr. Hall, one from Mr. Rhoads, another from Dr. Bond, but none from you. They are by way of Bristol. I must send this away immediately, lest Mr. Lorimer should be gone. My respects to those gentlemen, to whom I shall write, and to my other friends, by Mr. Ralph's vessel, which sails next week. I am your ever loving husband, B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. When you write to Boston, give my love to sister Jenny, as I have not often time to write to her. If you please, you may send her the enclosed little picture.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

Death of Friends. — Hackney Coaches in London. — Account of various Articles sent to her.

London, 19 February, 1758.

My dear Child,

I have wrote you several long letters lately; the last was by Mr. Ralph, and at the same time I wrote to my dear Sally. Last night I received yours of the 1st and 6th of January, which gave me the great pleasure of hearing that you and my little family were well. I hope you continue so, and that I shall have the happiness to find you so. The letter you mention to have sent me by Captain Robinson is not come to hand; but that by Mr. Hunt I received and answered.

I regret the loss of my friend Parsons. Death begins to make breaches in the little junto of old friends, that he had long forborne, and it must be expected he will now soon pick us all off one after another.

Your kind advice about getting a chariot, I had taken some time before; for I found, that, every time I walked out, I got fresh cold; and the hackney coaches at this end of the town, where most people keep their own, are the worst in the whole city, miserable, dirty, broken, shabby things, unfit to go into when dressed clean, and such as one would be ashamed to get out of at any gentleman's door. As to burning wood, it would answer no end, unless one would furnish all one's neighbours and the whole city with the same. The whole town is one great smoky house, and every street a chimney, the air full of floating seacoal soot, and you never get a sweet breath of what is pure, without riding some miles for it into the country.

I am sorry to hear, that a storm has damaged a house of my good friend Mr. Bartram. Acquaint him that I have received the seeds, and shall write to him shortly. I hope the Speaker is recovered of the illness you mention.

Give my thanks to Dr. Bond for the care he takes of you. I have wrote to him by this vessel. Mr. Hunter and Polly talk of returning this spring. He is wonderfully recruited. They both desire to be remembered to you. She received your letter and answered it. Her answer I enclosed in one of mine to you. Her daughter Rachel, who plays on the harpsichord and sings prettily, sends Sally one of her songs, that I fancied.

I send you by Captain Budden a large case, and a small box. In the large case is another small box, containing some English china; viz. melons and leaves for a desert of fruit and cream, or the like; a bowl remarkable for the neatness of the figures, made at Bow, near this city; some coffee cups of the same; a Worcester bowl, ordinary. To show the difference of workmanship, there is something from all the china works in England; and one old true china bason mended, of an odd color. The same box contains four silver salt ladles, newest, but ugliest, fashion; a little instrument to core apples; another to make little turnips out of great ones; six coarse diaper breakfast cloths; they are to spread on the tea table, for nobody breakfasts here on the naked table, but on the cloth they set a large tea board with the cups. There is also a little basket, a present from Mrs. Stevenson to Sally, and a pair of garters for you, which were knit by the young lady, her daughter, who favored me with a pair of the same kind, the only ones I have been able to wear; as they need not be bound tight,

the ridges in them preventing their slipping. We send them therefore as a curiosity for the form, more than for the value. Goody Smith may, if she pleases, make such for me hereafter. My love to her.

In the great case, besides the little box, is contained some carpeting for a best room floor. There is enough for one large or two small ones, it is to be sewed together, the edges being first felled down, and care taken to make the figures meet exactly; there is bordering for the same. This was my fancy. Also two large fine Flanders bedticks, and two pair of large superfine blankets, two fine damask tablecloths and napkins, and forty-three ells of Ghentish sheeting Holland. These you ordered. There are also fifty-six yards of cotton, printed curiously from copper plates, a new invention, to make bed and window curtains; and seven yards of chair bottoms, printed in the same way, very neat. These were my fancy; but Mrs. Stevenson tells me I did wrong not to buy both of the same color. Also seven yards of printed cotton, blue ground, to make you a gown. I bought it by candlelight, and liked it then, but not so well afterwards. If you do not fancy it, send it as a present from me to sister Jenny. There is a better gown for you, of flowered tissue, sixteen yards, of Mrs. Stevenson's fancy, cost nine guineas; and I think it a great beauty. There was no more of the sort, or you should have had enough for a *negligée* or suit.

There are also snuffers, a snuffstand, and extinguisher, of steel, which I send for the beauty of the work. The extinguisher is for spermaceti candles only, and is of a new contrivance, to preserve the snuff upon the candle. There is some music Billy bought for his sister, and some pamphlets for the Speaker and for Susy Wright. A mahogany and a little sha-

green box, with microscopes and other optical instruments loose, are for Mr. Alison, if he likes them; if not, put them in my room till I return. I send the invoice of them, and I wrote to him formerly the reason of my exceeding his orders. There are also two sets of books, a present from me to Sally, *The World* and *The Connoisseur*. My love to her.

I forgot to mention another of my fancyings, viz. a pair of silk blankets, very fine. They are of a new kind, were just taken in a French prize, and such were never seen in England before. They are called blankets, but I think they will be very neat to cover a summer bed, instead of a quilt or counterpane. I had no choice, so you will excuse the soil on some of the folds; your neighbour Foster can get it off. I also forgot, among the china, to mention a large fine jug for beer, to stand in the cooler. I fell in love with it at first sight; for I thought it looked like a fat jolly dame, clean and tidy, with a neat blue and white calico gown on, good natured and lovely, and put me in mind of — somebody. It has the coffee cups in it, packed in best crystal salt, of a peculiar nice flavor, for the table, not to be powdered.

I hope Sally applies herself closely to her French and music, and that I shall find she has made great proficiency. The harpsichord I was about, and which was to have cost me forty guineas, Mr. Stanley advises me not to buy; and we are looking out for another, one that has been some time in use, and is a tried good one, there being not so much dependence on a new one, though made by the best hands. Sally's last letter to her brother is the best wrote that of late I have seen of hers. I only wish she was a little more careful of her spelling. I hope she continues to love going to church, and would have

her read over and over again the *Whole Duty of Man*, and the *Lady's Library*.

Look at the figures on the china bowl and coffee cups, with your spectacles on; they will bear examining.

I have made your compliments to Mrs. Stevenson. She is indeed very obliging, takes great care of my health, and is very diligent when I am any way indisposed; but yet I have a thousand times wished you with me, and my little Sally with her ready hands and feet to do, and go, and come, and get what I wanted. There is a great difference in sickness between being nursed with that tender attention, which proceeds from sincere love; and —— *

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

Domestic Concerns. — Governor Denny. — Governor Hamilton. — Taxing the Proprietary Estates in Pennsylvania.

London, 10 June, 1758.

My dear Child,

I was down at Cambridge with Billy when Snead sailed, so I did not write again by him as I intended. His sailing so soon was unexpected to me. I am somewhat out of the way of vessels, and Mr. Partridge, by mistake wrote me Snead was not to sail that week; so, being very kindly entertained there in the colleges, we did not hurry so soon home as we might have done. However, this vessel perhaps may be there about the same time.

I think nobody ever had more faithful correspond-

* The remainder of the letter is lost.

ents than I have in Mr. Hughes and you. It is impossible for me to get or keep out of your debts. I received the bill of exchange you got of Mr. Nelson, and it is paid. I received also the Proprietary's account. It gives me concern to receive such frequent accounts of your being indisposed; but we both of us grow in years, and must expect our constitutions, though tolerably good in themselves, will by degrees give way to the infirmities of age.

I have sent, in a trunk of the Library Company's, some of the best writing paper for letters, and best quills and wax, all for Mrs. Moore, which I beg she would accept; having received such civilities here from her sister and brother Scott, as are not in my power to return. I shall send some to Sally by the next opportunity. By Captain Lutwidge I sent my dear girl a newest fashioned white hat and cloak, and sun dry little things, which I hope will get safe to hand. I now send her a pair of buckles, made of French paste stones, which are next in lustre to diamonds. They cost three guineas, and are said to be cheap at that price. I fancy I see more likeness in her picture than I did at first, and I look at it often with pleasure, as at least it reminds me of her. Yours is at the painter's, who is to copy it and do me of the same size; but, as to family pieces, it is said they never look well, and are quite out of fashion, and I find the limner very unwilling to undertake any thing of the kind. However, when Franky's comes, and that of Sally by young Hesselius, I shall see what can be done. I wonder how you came by Ben Lay's picture.

You are very prudent not to engage in party disputes. Women never should meddle with them, except in endeavours to reconcile their husbands, broth-

ers, and friends, who happen to be of contrary sides. If your sex keep cool, you may be a means of cooling ours the sooner, and restoring more speedily that social harmony among fellow-citizens, that is so desirable after long and bitter dissensions.

Cousin Dunlap* has wrote me an account of his purchasing Chattin's printing-house. I wish it may be advantageous to him without injuring Mr. Hall. I can however do nothing to encourage him, as a printer in Philadelphia, inconsistent with my preëngagement to so faithful a partner. And I trust you will take care not to do any thing in that way, that may draw reflections on me; as if I did underhand, through your means, what I would not care to appear in openly. I hope he will keep a good understanding with Mr. Hall, and I am pleased to hear that he asked his advice and friendship; but I have thought it right and necessary to forbid the use of my letters by Mr. Dunlap without Mr. Hall's consent. The post-office, if it is agreeable to you, may be removed to Mr. Dunlap's house, it being proposed by our good friend Mr. Hughes.

I wrote to you lately to speak to Ambruster† not to make use of my name any more in his newspaper, as I have no particular concern in it, but as one of the trustees only. I have no prospect of returning till next spring, so you will not expect me. But pray remember to make me as happy as you can, by sending some pippins for myself and friends, some of your small hams, and some cranberries.

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* William Dunlap was a native of Ireland, became a printer in Philadelphia, and had recently married a relation of Mrs. Franklin.

† Anthony Ambruster, a German by birth, who printed German books in Philadelphia, and for some time published a newspaper there in the German language.

Billy is of the Middle Temple, and will be called to the bar either this term or the next. I write this in answer to your particular inquiry. I am glad you like the cloak I sent you. The black silk was sent by our friend Mr. Collinson. I never saw it. Your answer to Mr. Strahan was just what it should be. I was much pleased with it. He fancied his rhetoric and art would certainly bring you over.

I have ordered two large print Common Prayer Books to be bound, on purpose for you and Goody Smith; and, that the largeness of the print may not make them too bulky, the christenings, matrimonies, and every thing else that you and she have not immediate and constant occasion for, are to be omitted. So you will both of you be reprieved from the use of spectacles in church a little longer.

If the ringing of the bells frightens you, tie a piece of wire from one bell to the other, and that will conduct the lightning without ringing or snapping, but silently; though I think it best the bells should be at liberty to ring, that you may know when they are electrified; and when you are afraid you may keep at a distance.* I wrote last winter to Josey Crocker to come over hither and stay a year, and work in some of the best shops for improvement in his business, and therefore did not send the tools; but, if he is about to be married, I would not advise him to come. I shall send the tools immediately. You have disposed of the appletrees very properly. I condole with you on the loss of your walnuts.

I see the governor's treatment of his wife makes

* In the year 1753 he had erected an iron rod for the purpose of drawing lightning from the clouds into his house. He also placed two bells in such a position, that they would ring when the rod was electrified. See a description of this contrivance in Vol. V. p. 301.

all the ladies angry. If it is on account of the bad example, that will soon be removed; for the Proprietors are privately looking out for another; being determined to discard him, and the place goes a begging. One, to whom it was offered, sent a friend to make some inquiries of me. The Proprietors told him they had there a city-house and a country-house, which he might use rent free; that every thing was so cheap he might live on five hundred pounds sterling a year, keep a genteel table, a coach, &c., and his income would be at least nine hundred pounds. If it fell short of that, the Proprietors would engage to make it up. For the truth of his being able to live genteelly, and keep a coach for five hundred pounds a year, the Proprietors referred him to Mr. Hamilton, who, it seems, told him the same story; but, on inquiry of Mr. Morris, he had quite a different account, and knew not which to believe. The gentleman is one Mr. Graves, a lawyer of the Temple. He hesitated a good while, and I am now told has declined accepting it. I wish that may not be true, for he has the character of being a very good sort of man; though while the instructions continue, it matters little who is our governor. It was to have been kept a secret from me, that the Proprietors were looking out for a new one; because they would not have Mr. Denny know any thing about it, till the appointment was actually made, and the gentleman ready to embark. So you may make a secret of it too, if you please, and oblige all your friends with it.*

* The Proprietors were dissatisfied with Governor Denny, because he had given his assent to certain laws, which they did not approve, particularly in regard to taxing their estates, and had deviated from the spirit if not from the letter of their instructions. They resolved, therefore, to remove him. The negotiation with Mr. Graves having

I need not tell you to assist godmother in her difficulties; for I know you will think it as agreeable to me, as it is to your own good disposition. I could not find the bit of thread you mention to have sent me, of your own spinning. Perhaps it was too fine to be seen. I am glad little Franky begins to talk. It will divert you to have him often with you.

I think I have now gone through your letters, which always give me great pleasure to receive and read, since I cannot be with you in person. Distribute my compliments, respects, and love among my friends,

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failed, the post was next offered to James Hamilton, a native of Philadelphia, who had been governor a few years before, and who was at this time in London. He took an independent ground with the Proprietors, and seems to have had some difficulty in arranging certain points to their mutual satisfaction, especially in what related to the long disputed question as to taxing the proprietary estates. This is evident from the following extract from a letter, which he wrote in London to Thomas Penn, one of the Proprietors, August 21st, 1759, while the negotiation was pending.

"I am sorry," said he, "that this treaty about the government has been drawn out to so inconvenient a length. Everybody knows I did not solicit my appointment to it; nor have I varied the terms, on which I professed to engage in it, one iota from the beginning. Those terms were, *that I would not be restrained from giving my assent to any reasonable bill for taxing the proprietary estates in common with all the other estates in the province*, because in my opinion it was not more than just that it should be so. If you have changed your sentiments, with regard to this matter, which, for a long time I looked upon to be the same as mine, it will give me no pain on my own account. Every thing that respects me may drop silently, as if it had never been moved. Only, for saving your time and my own, I think it incumbent on me to declare, as I have frequently done, that I cannot think of engaging myself in that service, but upon the terms or conditions above mentioned."

Mr. Hamilton was appointed governor, and he returned soon afterwards to Pennsylvania. The reluctance of the Proprietors to have their lands taxed by the Assembly was not easily overcome, as clearly appears from their instructions to the governor on this head. They express a willingness to aid in the defence of the province by suitable contributions, but claim the privilege of doing it in such manner as their judgment shall dictate, and deny all right in the Assembly

and believe me ever, my dear Debby, your affectionate husband, B. FRANKLIN

P. S. Mrs. Stevenson and her daughter desire me to present their compliments, and offer their services to you and Sally. I think of going into the country soon, and shall be pretty much out this summer, in different parts of England. I depend chiefly on these journeys for the establishment of my health.

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to impose a tax on their property in the province for any object whatever. "Wherefore," they add, "we recommend to you to use the most prudent means in your power, *to avoid and prevent the Assembly from including any part of our estate in the said province in any tax to be by them raised.* But, in case the exigency of the times, the King's immediate service, and the defence of the province cannot be provided for, unless our estate shall be included in any bill for raising taxes for such services; then we do, notwithstanding our general dislike of the same, permit you to give your assent to such a bill, as shall impose a tax *on our rents and quitrents only*, but not on our vacant lands, whether appropriated or not, nor on any fines or purchase money pretended or supposed to be due to us, which, we are well advised, are not in their nature liable to taxation; always provided, as our rents and quitrents are clear and certain in their amount, that proper and reasonable clauses be inserted in every such bill for rendering as clear and certain as possible the true value of all other persons' estates, that we may not be taxed beyond our true proportion with respect to others. And provided also, that *our respective tenants be obliged to pay the same*, and to deduct the same out of our rents, when they account to us or our receiver, and not to pretend to authorize the sale of any of our lands for non-payment of taxes."

Clogged with such instructions, although the point of taxation was yielded to a certain extent, Mr. Hamilton could hardly hope to satisfy the Assembly or the people, who believed and contended, that, for all the purposes of defence, the property of the Proprietors in the province, of whatever kind or however situated, was justly liable to be taxed in the same proportion, and in the same manner, as their own; nor indeed do the instructions seem to accord fully with Mr. Hamilton's view of the subject, as expressed in his letter to Mr. Penn.

TO THE SPEAKER AND COMMITTEE OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ASSEMBLY.

Case of Moore and Smith. — Privileges of the Assembly affected by a Change of Government. — Prejudices in England against Pennsylvania.

London, 10 June, 1758.

GENTLEMEN,

In mine of May 13th I gave you a particular account of the hearing before the Attorney and Solicitor General, on a reference of Smith's petition. They have not yet made their report, and would now, I hear, excuse themselves from doing it as unnecessary, since they have heard that the prisoners are discharged. But they are still solicited by Mr. Penn and Mr. Moore to report, on an allegation that they have letters advising that warrants are issued for taking them up again. None of my letters from Pennsylvania mentions any thing of this. I have ventured to say I doubt the truth of it. Whether they will report or not is uncertain; but, if they should report against us, I am determined to dispute the matter again before the Council.

I send you herewith a copy of the note I furnished our solicitor with, when drawing his brief; a copy of the brief itself; a copy of some remarks on the reflection thrown upon the Assembly by the Council at the first hearing, as being Quakers and therefore against defence, and as bearing malice against Smith because a clergyman of the church of England, and against Moore because he petitioned for defence. These I gave to our counsel before the second hearing, when they were to speak, and they made good use of them. I furnished also a number of cases from the votes of

Assemblies in the other colonies, showing that they all claimed and exercised power of committing for breach of privilege; but of this paper of cases I have no copy by me.*

Mr. Charles at my request has drawn the state of the case, in order to obtain opinions of eminent lawyers how far our present privileges would be affected in case of a change of government, by our coming immediately under the crown. I send you a copy of this case, with the opinion of our counsel upon it, who is esteemed the best acquainted with our American affairs and constitutions, as well as with government law in general. He being also thoroughly knowing in the present views of the Board of Trade, and in their connexions and characters, has given me withal, as a friend, some prudential advice in a separate sheet distinct from his law opinion, because the law opinion might necessarily appear where he would not care the advice should be seen. I send you, also, a copy of this, and should be glad of your sentiments upon it. One thing, that he recommends to be done before we push our point in Parliament, is, *removing the prejudices,*

* Petitions had been sent to the Assembly, charging William Moore, president of the court of common pleas in Chester county, with misconduct in his office. Moore was summoned to appear before the House, which he refused to do. The House found him guilty, however, and requested the governor to remove him from office. This was declined by the governor, till he should investigate the case; and in the mean time Moore published a defence containing language, which the Assembly voted to be slanderous and insulting. It appeared in evidence, also, that William Smith, provost of the College, had been concerned in revising and correcting this piece before it was published. Smith was then arrested, and both he and Moore were imprisoned. The public was much agitated by the controversy. The governor took the part of the accused. Smith and Moore ultimately appealed to the King in Council, where it was decided that the Assembly had transcended their powers, and that their conduct was reprehensible. A summary of the case is contained in GORDON's *History of Pennsylvania*, p. 352.

that art and accident have spread among the people this country against us, and obtaining for us the go opinion of the bulk of mankind without doors. This hope we have it in our power to do, by means of work now nearly ready for the press, calculated engage the attention of many readers, and at the sar time to efface the bad impressions received of us; b it is thought best not to publish it, till a little befc the next session of Parliament.*

The Proprietors are determined to discard their pre ent governor, as soon as they can find a successor their mind. They have lately offered the governme to one Mr. Graves, a gentleman of the Temple, w has had it for some time under consideration, a makes a difficulty of accepting it. The beginning the week it was thought he would accept; but Thursday night I was told he had resolved to refu it. I know not, however, whether he may not yet prevailed on. He has the character of a man of go understanding, and good dispositions, ——†

* The work here alluded to is undoubtedly the "Historical Rev of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania," which was published in the year 1759, and which is contained in the third vol of this work. See also a letter to David Hume, under the date September 27th, 1760.

† The remainder of the letter is lost.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

rticulars concerning a Tour in England. — Cam-ridge University. — Account of the Place where his Father was born, and of several of his Relations, and the Relations of his Wife.

London, 6 September, 1758.

My dear Child,

n mine of June 10th, by the Mercury, Captain binson, I mentioned our having been at Cambridge. e stayed there a week, being entertained with great dness by the principal people, and shown all the iosities of the place; and, returning by another road see more of the country, we came again to Lon-n. I found the journey advantageous to my health, reasing both my health and spirits, and therefore, all the great folks were out of town, and public siness at a stand, I the more easily prevailed with self to take another journey, and accept of the in-ation we had, to be again at Cambridge at the mmencement, the beginning of July. We went ac-dingly, were present at all the ceremonies, dined ry day in their halls, and my vanity was not a le gratified by the particular regard shown me by chancellor and vice-chancellor of the University, l the heads of colleges.

After the Commencement, we went from Cambridge ough Huntingdonshire into Northumberlandshire, and Wellingborough, on inquiry, we found still living ry Fisher, whose maiden name was Franklin, daugh-and only child of Thomas Franklin, my father's est brother. She is five years older than sister wse, and remembers her going away with my fa-r and his then wife, and two other children to New

England, about the year 1685. We have had no correspondence with her since my uncle Benjamin's death, now near thirty years. I knew she had lived at Wellingborough, and had married there to one Mr. Richard Fisher, a grazier and tanner, about fifty years ago, but did not expect to see either of them alive, so inquired for their posterity. I was directed to their house, and we found them both alive, but weak with age, very glad however to see us. She seems to have been a very smart, sensible woman. They are wealthy, have left off business, and live comfortably. They have had only one child, a daughter, who died, when about thirty years of age, unmarried. She gave me several of my uncle Benjamin's letters to her, and acquainted me where the other remains of the family lived, of which I have, since my return to London, found out a daughter of my father's only sister, very old, and never married. She is a good, clever woman, but poor, though vastly contented with her situation, and very cheerful. The others are in different parts of the country. I intend to visit them, but they were too much out of our tour in that journey.

From Wellingborough we went to Ecton, about three or four miles, being the village where my father was born, and where his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had lived, and how many of the family before them we know not. We went first to see the old house and grounds; they came to Mr. Fisher with his wife, and, after letting them for some years, finding his rent something ill paid, he sold them. The land is now added to another farm, and a school kept in the house. It is a decayed old stone building, but still known by the name of Franklin House. Thence we went to visit the rector of the parish, who lives close by the church, a very ancient building. He en-

tertained us very kindly, and showed us the old church register, in which were the births, marriages, and burials of our ancestors for two hundred years, as early as his book began. His wife, a goodnatured, chatty old lady, (granddaughter of the famous Archdeacon Palmer, who formerly had that parish, and lived there,) remembered a great deal about the family; carried us out into the churchyard, and showed us several of their gravestones, which were so covered with moss, that we could not read the letters, till she ordered a hard brush and basin of water, with which Peter scoured them clean, and then Billy copied them. She entertained and diverted us highly with stories of Thomas Franklin, Mrs. Fisher's father, who was a conveyancer, something of a lawyer, clerk of the county courts, and clerk to the Archdeacon in his visitations; a very leading man in all county affairs, and much employed in public business. He set on foot a subscription for erecting chimes in their steeple, and completed it, and we heard them play. He found out an easy method of saving their village meadows from being drowned, as they used to be sometimes by the river, which method is still in being; but, when first proposed, nobody could conceive how it could be; "but however," they said, "if Franklin says he knows how to do it, it will be done." His advice and opinion were sought for on all occasions, by all sorts of people, and he was looked upon, she said, by some, as something of a conjurer. He died just four years before I was born, on the same day of the same month.

Since our return to London, I have had a kind letter from cousin Fisher, and another from the rector, which I send you.

From Ecton we went to Northampton, where we stayed part of the day; then went to Coventry, and

from thence to Birmingham. Here, upon inquiry, we soon found out yours, and cousin Wilkinson's, and cousin Cash's relations. First, we found out one of the Cashes, and he went with us to Rebecca Flint's, where we saw her and her husband. She is a turner and he a buttonmaker; they have no children; were very glad to see any person that knew their sister Wilkinson; told us what letters they had received, and showed us some of them; and even showed us that they had, out of respect, preserved a keg, in which they had received a present of some sturgeon. They sent for their brother, Joshua North, who came with his wife immediately to see us; he is a turner also, and has six children, a lively, active man. Mrs. Flint desired me to tell her sister, that they live still in the old house she left them in, which I think she says was their father's. From thence Mr. North went with us to your cousin Benjamin's.*——

TO HUGH ROBERTS.

The Junto and some of its Members.

London, 16 September, 1758.

DEAR FRIEND,

Your kind letter of June 1st gave me great pleasure. I thank you for the concern you express about my health, which at present seems tolerably confirmed by my late journey into different parts of the kingdom, that have been highly entertaining as well as useful to me. Your visits to my little family in my absence are very obliging, and I hope you will be so good as to continue them. Your remark on the thistle and the Scotch motto made us very merry, as well as you

* The remainder of the letter is missing.

string of puns. You will allow me to claim a little merit or demerit in the last, as having had some hand in making you a punster; but the wit of the first is keen, and all your own.

Two of the former members of the Junto you tell me are departed this life, Potts and Parsons. Odd characters both of them. Parsons a wise man, that often acted foolishly; Potts a wit, that seldom acted wisely. If *enough* were the means to make a man happy, one had always the *means* of happiness, without ever enjoying the *thing;* the other had always the *thing*, without ever possessing the *means*. Parsons, even in his prosperity, always fretting; Potts, in the midst of his poverty, ever laughing. It seems, then, that happiness in this life rather depends on internals than externals; and that, besides the natural effects of wisdom and virtue, vice and folly, there is such a thing as a happy or an unhappy constitution. They were both our friends, and loved us. So, peace to their shades. They had their virtues as well as their foibles; they were both honest men, and that alone, as the world goes, is one of the greatest of characters. They were old acquaintances, in whose company I formerly enjoyed a great deal of pleasure, and I cannot think of losing them, without concern and regret.

I shall, as you suppose, look on every opportunity you give me of doing you service, as a favor, because it will afford me pleasure. I know how to make you ample returns for such favors, by giving the pleasure of building me a house. You may do it without losing any of your own time; it will only take some part of that you now spend in other folks' business. It is only jumping out of their waters into mine.

I am grieved for our friend Syng's loss. You and I, who esteem him, and have valuable sons ourselves,

can sympathize with him sincerely. I hope yours is perfectly recovered, for your sake as well as for his own. I wish he may be, in every respect, as good and as useful as his father. I need not wish him more; and can only add, that I am, with great esteem, dear friend, yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. I rejoice to hear of the prosperity of the Hospital, and send the wafers. I do not quite like your absenting yourself from that good old club, the Junto. Your more frequent presence might be a means of keeping them from being all engaged in measures not the best for the public welfare. I exhort you, therefore, to return to your duty; and, as the Indians say, to confirm my words, I send you a Birmingham tile. I thought the neatness of the figures would please you.

TO MRS. JANE MECOM.

Further Particulars respecting his Family Connexions. — Moral Reflections. — Faith, Hope, Charity.

London, 16 September, 1758.

DEAR SISTER,

I received your favor of June 17th. I wonder you have had no letter from me since my being in England. I have wrote you at least two, and I think a third before this, and, what was next to waiting on you in person, sent you my picture. In June last I sent Benny a trunk of books, and wrote to him. I hope they are come to hand, and that he meets with encouragement in his business. I congratulate you on the conquest of Cape Breton, and hope, as your people took it by praying the first time, you will now pray

that it may never be given up again, which you then forgot. Billy is well, but in the country. I left him at Tunbridge Wells, where we spent a fortnight, and he is now gone with some company to see Portsmouth. We have been together over a great part of England this summer, and, among other places, visited the town our father was born in, and found some relations in that part of the country still living.

Our cousin Jane Franklin, daughter of our uncle John, died about a year ago. We saw her husband, Robert Page, who gave us some old letters to his wife from uncle Benjamin. In one of them, dated Boston, July 4th, 1723, he writes that your uncle Josiah has a daughter Jane, about twelve years old, a good-humored child. So keep up to your character, and don't be angry when you have no letters. In a little book he sent her, called "None but Christ," he wrote an acrostic on her name, which for namesake's sake, as well as the good advice it contains, I transcribe and send you, viz.

"Illuminated from on high,
And shining brightly in your sphere,
Ne'er faint, but keep a steady eye,
Expecting endless pleasures there.

"Flee vice as you 'd a serpent flee;
Raise *faith* and *hope* three stories higher,
And let Christ's endless love to thee
Ne'er cease to make thy love aspire.
Kindness of heart by words express,
Let your obedience be sincere,
In prayer and praise your God address,
Nor cease, till he can cease to hear."

After professing truly that I had a great esteem and veneration for the pious author, permit me a little to play the commentator and critic on these lines. The meaning of *three stories higher* seems somewhat obscure. You are to understand, then, that *faith, hope,*

and *charity* have been called the three steps of Jacob's ladder, reaching from earth to heaven; our author calls them *stories*, likening religion to a building, and these are the three stories of the Christian edifice. Thus improvement in religion is called *building up* and *edification*. *Faith* is then the ground floor, *hope* is up one pair of stairs. My dear beloved Jenny, don't delight so much to dwell in those lower rooms, but get as fast as you can into the garret, for in truth the best room in the house is *charity*. For my part, I wish the house was turned upside down; it is so difficult (when one is fat) to go up stairs; and not only so, but I imagine *hope* and *faith* may be more firmly built upon *charity*, than *charity* upon *faith* and *hope*. However that may be, I think it the better reading to say —

"Raise faith and hope one story higher."

Correct it boldly, and I 'll support the alteration; for, when you are up two stories already, if you raise your building three stories higher you will make five in all, which is two more than there should be, you expose your upper rooms more to the winds and storms; and, besides, I am afraid the foundation will hardly bear them, unless indeed you build with such light stuff as straw and stubble, and that, you know, won't stand fire. Again, where the author says,

"Kindness of heart by words express,"

strike out *words*, and put in *deeds*. The world is too full of compliments already. They are the rank growth of every soil, and choke the good plants of benevolence and beneficence; nor do I pretend to be the first in this comparison of words and actions to plants; you may remember an ancient poet, whose works we have all studied and copied at school long ago.

"A man of words and not of deeds
Is like a garden full of weeds."

It is pity that good works, among some sorts of people, are so little valued, and good words admired in their stead; I mean seemingly pious discourses, instead of humane benevolent actions. Those they almost put out of countenance, by calling morality *rotten morality*, righteousness *ragged righteousness*, and even filthy rags. So much by way of commentary.

My wife will let you see my letter, containing an account of our travels, which I would have you read to sister Dowse, and give my love to her. I have no thoughts of returning till next year, and then may possibly have the pleasure of seeing you and yours; taking Boston in my way home. My love to brother and all your children, concludes at this time from, dear Jenny, your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.

Craven Street, 4 May, 1759.

MY DEAR CHILD,

Hearing that you were in the Park last Sunday, I hoped for the pleasure of seeing you yesterday at the oratorio in the Foundling Hospital; but, though I looked with all the eyes I had, not excepting even those I carry in my pocket, I could not find you; and this morning your good mamma has received a line from you, by which we learn that you are returned to Wanstead.

It is long since you heard from me, though not a day passes in which I do not think of you with the same affectionate regard and esteem I ever had for you. My not writing is partly owing to an inexcusable indolence, which I find grows upon me as I grow in years, and partly to an expectation I have had,

from week to week, of making a little journey into Essex, in which I intended to call at Wanstead, and promised to myself the pleasure of seeing you there. I have now fixed this day se'nnight for that journey, and purpose to take Mrs. Stevenson out with me, leave her with you till the next day, and call for her on Saturday in my return. Let me know by a line if you think any thing may make such a visit from us at that time improper or inconvenient. Present my sincere respects to Mrs. Tickell, and believe me ever, dear Polly, your truly affectionate friend and humble servant, B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. We have company that dine with us to-day, and your careful mamma, being busied about many things, cannot write. Will did not see you in the Park. Mr. Hunter and his sister are both gone. God prosper their voyage. My compliments to Miss Pitt.*

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* Much of Franklin's time during the year 1759 was devoted to electricity, as in fact it had been from his first arrival in England. The fame of his discoveries in that science had preceded him, and made him known to the learned throughout Europe. It was the occasion of a large correspondence, which has nearly all been lost in the wreck of his papers. The following letter from the celebrated Musschenbroek was accompanied by a list of all the principal treatises on electricity, which had at that time been published in the Latin, German, French, and English languages.

"VIRO NOBILISSIMO AMPLISSIMOQUE, BENJAMINI FRANKLIN, S. P. D. P. V. MUSSCHENBROEK.

"Vir reverendus, qui se ministerio Evangelico fungi profitebatur, me tuo nomine rogavit, ut indicarem autores, qui de Electricitate scripserunt, mihique erant cogniti. Votis tuis lubenter annui; ita addisces quid alii in Europâ præstiterunt eruditi, sed simul videbis neminem magis recondita mysteria Electricitatis detexisse Franklino.

"Utinam modo pergas proprio Marte capere experimenta, et aliâ incedere viâ, quam Europæi incesserunt, nam tum plura et alia deteges, quæ seculorum spatio laterent philosophos. Aër Pensylvanicus videtur esse electricitatis plenissimus; sed attende an per totum anni curricu-

TO LORD KAMES.*

Political Remarks and Predictions in Regard to America. — William Penn's Portrait. — Recollections of his Visit to Scotland.

London, 3 January, 1760.

MY DEAR LORD,

You have been pleased kindly to desire to have all my publications. I had daily expectations of procuring some of them from a friend to whom I formerly sent them when I was in America, and postponed writing to you, till I should obtain them; but at length he tells me he cannot find them; very mortifying this

lum, an interdum pauperior sit; quibus anni diebus, quo flante vento, quâ cœli constitutione; distingue nubes electricitatis plenas aut expertes, uti volante in altum serico incepisti detegere omnium primus. Opto similia perpulcra inventa legere Pensylvanica, ac scripsisti in litteris ad expertissimum virum Collinsonum; siquc mecum quædam communicare digneris, tecum alia communicabo, nam meus scopus est scientiam physicam et naturalem promovere quamdiu vivam.

"Tu sis, amicissime, salutatus a tui benevolentissimo cultore, et vale.

"*Leydæ*, 15° *Aprilis*, 1759."

* Henry Home, better known by his title of Lord Kames, which he assumed, according to the custom of Scotland, on being appointed in 1752 a judge of the Court of Session. He was born in Berwick county in 1696, and was educated to the profession of the law, in which he became distinguished as an advocate and a judge. But his greatest eminence was derived from his literary productions, which were numerous, and some of them very celebrated, particularly his "Elements of Criticism," published in 1762; his "Sketches of the History of Man," in 1773; and a small work published in 1761, entitled "An Introduction to the Art of Thinking," which was originally compiled for the use of his own children. It is in two parts, the first a series of moral maxims, the second illustrations by little apologues, invented for the purpose; and anecdotes of different kinds, many of them, however, but little adapted to the end. Dr. Franklin, in a visit to Scotland in 1759, with his son William, passed some time with Lord Kames, and a friendship grew out of their intimacy which lasted during their lives. Lord Kames died December 27th, 1782, in the eighty-seventh year of his age. — W. T. F.

to an author, that his works should so soon be lost! So I can only send you my *Observations on the Peopling of Countries*, which happens to have been reprinted here; *The Description of the Pennsylvania Fire-place*, a machine of my contriving; and some little sketches that have been printed in the *Grand Magazine*, which I should hardly own, did I not know that your friendly partiality would make them seem at least tolerable.

How unfortunate I was, that I did not press you and Lady Kames more strongly to favor us with your company farther. How much more agreeable would our journey have been, if we could have enjoyed you as far as York. We could have beguiled the way, by discoursing on a thousand things, that now we may never have an opportunity of considering together; for conversation warms the mind, enlivens the imagination, and is continually starting fresh game, that is immediately pursued and taken, and which would never have occurred in the duller intercourse of epistolary correspondence. So that whenever I reflect on the great pleasure and advantage I received from the free communication of sentiment, in the conversation we had at Kames, and in the agreeable little rides to the Tweed side, I shall for ever regret our premature parting.

No one can more sincerely rejoice than I do, on the reduction of Canada; and this is not merely as I am a colonist, but as I am a Briton. I have long been of opinion, that the *foundations of the future grandeur and stability of the British empire lie in America;* and though, like other foundations, they are low and little now, they are, nevertheless, broad and strong enough to support the greatest political structure that human wisdom ever yet erected. I am, therefore, by no means

for restoring Canada. If we keep it, all the country from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi will in another century be filled with British people. Britain itself will become vastly more populous, by the immense increase of its commerce; the Atlantic sea will be covered with your trading ships; and your naval power, thence continually increasing, will extend your influence round the whole globe, and awe the world! If the French remain in Canada, they will continually harass our colonies by the Indians, and impede if not prevent their growth; your progress to greatness will at best be slow, and give room for many accidents that may for ever prevent it. But I refrain, for I see you begin to think my notions extravagant, and look upon them as the ravings of a mad prophet.

Your Lordship's kind offer of Penn's picture is extremely obliging. But, were it certainly his picture, it would be too valuable a curiosity for me to think of accepting it. I should only desire the favor of leave to take a copy of it. I could wish to know the history of the picture before it came into your hands, and the grounds for supposing it his. I have at present some doubts about it; first, because the primitive Quakers declared against pictures as a vain expense; a man's suffering his portrait to be taken was conceived as pride; and I think to this day it is very little practised among them. Then, it is on a board; and I imagine the practice of painting portraits on boards did not come down so low as Penn's time; but of this I am not certain. My other reason is an anecdote I have heard, viz. that when old Lord Cobham was adorning his gardens at Stow with busts of famous men, he made inquiry of the family for the picture of William Penn, in order to get a bust formed from it, but could find none; that Sylvanus Bevan,

an old Quaker apothecary, remarkable for the notice he takes of countenances, and a knack he has of cutting in ivory strong likenesses of persons he has once seen, hearing of Lord Cobham's desire, set himself to recollect Penn's face, with which he had been well acquainted; and cut a little bust of him in ivory, which he sent to Lord Cobham, without any letter or notice that it was Penn's. But my Lord, who had personally known Penn, on seeing it, immediately cried out, "Whence comes this? It is William Penn himself!" And from this little bust, they say, the large one in the gardens was formed.

I doubt, too, whether the whisker was not quite out of use at the time when Penn must have been of an age appearing in the face of that picture. And yet, notwithstanding these reasons, I am not without some hope that it may be his; because I know some eminent Quakers have had their pictures privately drawn and deposited with trusty friends; and know, also, that there is extant at Philadelphia a very good picture of Mrs. Penn, his last wife. After all, I own I have a strong desire to be satisfied concerning this picture; and as Bevan is yet living here, and some other old Quakers that remember William Penn, who died but 1718, I would wish to have it sent to me carefully packed up in a box by the wagon, (for I would not trust it by sea,) that I may obtain their opinion. The charges I shall very cheerfully pay; and if it proves to be Penn's picture, I shall be greatly obliged to your Lordship for leave to take a copy of it, and will carefully return the original.*

* Dr. Franklin's doubts, respecting the above picture, were probably just. Mr. Tytler says, in his *Life of Lord Kames*, that it was sent to Dr. Franklin, and never returned; but the fact of its not having been known in Philadelphia, nor ever heard of since the above letter was

My son joins with me in the most respectful compliments to you and lady Kames. Our conversation, till we came to York, was chiefly a recollection of

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written, is strong presumptive proof, that it was not a portrait of William Penn. The following particulars have been communicated to me by Mr. J. R. Tyson, and Mr. J. F. Fisher, of Philadelphia.

There are but two original authorities for the likeness of William Penn. One of these is the bust made by Sylvanus Bevan, from recollection after Penn's death. It is probable that Bevan himself executed several busts; and others have been carved in imitation of his model. Lord Le Despenser adorned his grounds at High Wycombe, in England, with a statue of Penn, the head of which is a copy of Bevan's bust. After the death of Lord Le Despenser, that statue was purchased by John Penn, and presented to the Pennsylvania Hospital, and it now stands in front of the hospital buildings. Its material is lead, bronzed. James Logan possessed one of Bevan's busts carved in wood, which was placed in the Loganian Library, and was burnt there in the year 1831. The engraved portraits of William Penn in Clarkson's Life of him, and in Proud's History, and also the medallions in common circulation, are all from the same model. They are consequently imperfect resemblances. Bevan's delineation was likewise drawn from the appearance of William Penn in the last years of his life, when old age, sedentary habits, and a decayed intellect, left little in his countenance but its good nature.

The other original likeness is a portrait taken in 1666, when he was twenty-two years old. An engraving of it is contained in Grenville Penn's "*Memorials of the Professional Life of Sir William Penn*," the father of the founder of Pennsylvania. In that work the author says, "It is the only portrait of William Penn that ever was painted." A duplicate of this picture was presented by Grenville Penn to the Pennsylvania Historical Society in the year 1833. It is a highly interesting picture. The hair hangs in long, flowing locks, and the countenance is handsome, intelligent, expressive of benevolence, and somewhat pensive. The portrait was painted in the interval between his first serious impressions, and his final conversion to Quakerism. He had been in France, where his father's hope of his return to worldliness had been partially realized. For a short time, he had it in contemplation to accept a commission in the army. Hence he is attired in the armour, which was in fashion at that period, and the motto, *Pax quæritur Bello*, inscribed on the picture, is significant of the principles he had adopted. This cannot be the portrait, mentioned in the above letter as belonging to Lord Kames, because the original has always been in possession of the Penn family. It is moreover painted on canvass, but Lord Kames's was on a board; and it is destitute of the "whisker," with which the face of that picture was adorned.

what we had seen and heard, the pleasure we had enjoyed, and the kindnesses we had received, in Scotland, and how far that country had exceeded our expectations. On the whole, I must say, I think the time we spent there was six weeks of the *densest* happiness I have met with in any part of my life; and the agreeable and instructive society we found there in such plenty has left so pleasing an impression on my memory, that, did not strong connexions draw me elsewhere, I believe Scotland would be the country I should choose to spend the remainder of my days in. I have the honor to be, with the sincerest esteem and affection, my dear Lord, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO JOHN HUGHES.

Prospect of Peace. — Canada should be retained. — Condition in which the Laws are sent to England.

London, 7 January, 1760.

DEAR SIR,

On my return from our northern journey I found several of your obliging favors, for which please to accept my hearty thanks. There has been for some time a talk of peace, and probably we should have had one this winter, if the King of Prussia's late misfortunes had not given the enemy fresh spirits, and encouraged them to try their luck another campaign, and exert all their remaining strength, in hopes of treating with Hanover in their hands. If this should be the case, possibly most of our advantages may be given up again at the treaty, and some among our great men begin already to prepare the minds of people for this, by discoursing that to keep Canada

would draw on us the envy of other powers, and occasion a confederation against us; that the country is too large for us to people; not worth possessing, and the like. These notions I am every day and every hour combating, and I think not without some success. The event God only knows. The argument that seems to have the principal weight is, that, in case of another war, if we keep possession of Canada, the nation will save two or three millions a year, now spent in defending the American colonies, and be so much the stronger in Europe, by the addition of the troops now employed on that side of the water. To this I add, that the colonies would thrive and increase in a much greater degree, and that a vast additional demand would arise for British manufactures, to supply so great an extent of Indian country; with many other topics, which I urge occasionally according to the company I happen into, or the persons I address. And, on the whole, I flatter myself that my being here at this time may be of some service to the general interest of America.

The acts of last year have all come to hand, but not all in a condition to be laid before the King for his approbation, as the governor's proposed amendments are tacked to them, and no distinction as to which were agreed to, or whether any or none; so that, in some of the most material acts, there is no ascertaining what is intended to be law or what not. This mistake was fallen into, I suppose, from the late practice of sending home the bills refused by the governor, with his proposed amendments certified by the clerk of the House and under the great seal, that the true state of such refused bills might be known here; but, when bills are passed into laws, the copies to be sent here should be taken from the Rolls Office after

the laws are deposited there, and certified by the Master of the Rolls to be true copies; and then the governor, under the great seal, certifies that the Master of the Rolls is such an officer, and that credit ought to be given to his certificate; or otherwise that those copies are true copies, agreeable to the laws passed by him as governor. But the certificates with these laws only express, that such bills were sent up to him for his assent on such a day; that he proposed the annexed amendment on such a day, and on such a day he passed the bills, without saying a word whether the amendments were agreed to or not. Indeed by the part of the minutes which came * ——

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

Mr. Strahan proposes to him to settle in England.

London, 5 March, 1760.

My dear Child,

I received the enclosed some time since from Mr. Strahan. I afterwards spent an evening in conversation with him on the subject. He was very urgent with me to stay in England, and prevail with you to remove hither with Sally. He proposed several advantageous schemes to me, which appeared reasonably founded. His family is a very agreeable one; Mrs. Strahan a sensible and good woman, the children of amiable characters, and particularly the young man, who is sober, ingenious, and industrious, and a desirable person. In point of circumstances there can be no objection; Mr. Strahan being in such a way as to

* The remainder of the letter is lost.

lay up a thousand pounds every year from the profits of his business, after maintaining his family and paying all charges. I gave him, however, two reasons why I could not think of removing hither; one, my affection to Pennsylvania, and long established friendships and other connexions there; the other, your invincible aversion to crossing the seas. And without removing hither, I could not think of parting with my daughter to such a distance. I thanked him for the regard shown to us in the proposal, but gave him no expectation that I should forward the letters. So you are at liberty to answer or not, just as you think proper. Let me, however, know your sentiments. You need not deliver the letter to Sally, if you do not think it proper.

My best respects to Mr. Hughes, Mr. Bartram, and all inquiring friends. I am your ever loving husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. I have wrote several letters to you lately, but can now hardly tell by what ships.

TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.

Craven Street, 1 May, 1760.

I embrace, most gladly, my dear friend's proposal of a subject for our future correspondence; not only as it will occasion my hearing from her more frequently, but as it will lay me under a necessity of improving my own knowledge, that I may be better able to assist in her improvement. I only fear my necessary business and journeys, with the natural indolence of an old man, will make me too unpunctual a correspondent. For this I must hope some indul-

gence. But why will you, by the cultivation of your mind, make yourself still more amiable, and a more desirable companion for a man of understanding, when you are determined, as I hear, to live single? If we enter, as you propose, into *moral* as well as natural philosophy, I fancy, when I have established my authority as a tutor, I shall take upon me to lecture you a little on the chapter of duty.

But, to be serious, our easiest mode of proceeding I think will be, for you to read some books that I may recommend to you; and, in the course of your reading, whatever occurs, that you do not thoroughly apprehend, or that you clearly conceive and find pleasure in, may occasion either some questions for further information, or some observations that show how far you are satisfied and pleased with your author. These will furnish matter for your letters to me, and, in consequence, mine also to you.

Let me know, then, what books you have already perused on the subject intended, that I may the better judge what to advise for your next reading. And believe me ever, my dear good girl, your affectionate friend and servant, B. FRANKLIN.

TO LORD KAMES.

Favorable Opinion of a Work by Lord Kames. — Proposes to write a Treatise on the Art of Virtue.

London, 3 May, 1760.

MY DEAR LORD,

I have endeavoured to comply with your request in writing something on the present situation of our affairs in America, in order to give more correct notions of the British interest with regard to the col-

onies, than those I found many sensible men possessed of. Enclosed you have the production, such as it is. I wish it may, in any degree, be of service to the public. I shall at least hope this from it, for my own part, that you will consider it as a letter from me to you, and take its length as some excuse for being so long a coming.*

I am now reading with great pleasure and improvement your excellent work, *The Principles of Equity.* It will be of the greatest advantage to the judges in our colonies, not only in those which have courts of chancery, but also in those which, having no such courts, are obliged to mix equity with common law. It will be of more service to the colony judges, as few of them have been bred to the law. I have sent a book to a particular friend, one of the judges of the Supreme Court in Pennsylvania.

I will shortly send you a copy of the "Chapter" you are pleased to mention in so obliging a manner; and shall be extremely obliged in receiving a copy of the collection of *Maxims for the Conduct of Life,* which you are preparing for the use of your children. I purpose likewise a little work for the benefit of youth, to be called *The Art of Virtue.*† From the title I think you will hardly conjecture what the nature of such a book may be. I must therefore explain it a little. Many people lead bad lives that would gladly lead good ones, but do not know *how* to make the change. They have frequently *resolved* and *endeavoured* it; but in vain, because their endeavours have not been properly conducted. To expect people to

* This was probably the tract, entitled *The Interest of Great Britain Considered,* which was first published in 1760. See Vol. IV. p. 1.

† It does not appear that this intention was ever fulfilled. Some remarks on the subject are contained in the author's autobiography.

be good, to be just, to be temperate, &c., without *showing* them *how* they should *become* so, seems like the ineffectual charity mentioned by the Apostle, which consisted in saying to the hungry, the cold, and the naked, "Be ye fed, be ye warmed, be ye clothed," without showing them how they should get food, fire, or clothing.

Most people have naturally *some* virtues, but none have naturally *all* the virtues. To *acquire* those that are wanting, and secure what we acquire, as well as those we have naturally, is the subject of *an art*. It is as properly an art as painting, navigation, or architecture. If a man would become a painter, navigator, or architect, it is not enough that he is *advised* to be one, that he is *convinced* by the arguments of his adviser, that it would be for his advantage to be one, and that he resolves to be one, but he must also be taught the principles of the art, be shown all the methods of working, and how to acquire the habits of using properly all the instruments; and thus regularly and gradually he arrives, by practice, at some perfection in the art. If he does not proceed thus, he is apt to meet with difficulties that discourage him, and make him drop the pursuit.

My *Art of Virtue* has also its instruments, and teaches the manner of using them. Christians are directed to have faith in Christ, as the effectual means of obtaining the change they desire. It may, when sufficiently strong, be effectual with many; for a full opinion, that a teacher is infinitely wise, good, and powerful, and that he will certainly reward and punish the obedient and disobedient, must give great weight to his precepts, and make them much more attended to by his disciples. But many have this faith in so weak a degree, that it does not produce the

effect. Our *Art of Virtue* may, therefore, be of great service to those whose faith is unhappily not so strong, and may come in aid of its weakness. Such as are naturally well disposed, and have been so carefully educated, as that good habits have been early established, and bad ones prevented, have less need of this art; but all may be more or less benefited by it. It is, in short, to be adapted for universal use. I imagine what I have now been writing will seem to savour of great presumption. I must therefore speedily finish my little piece, and communicate the manuscript to you, that you may judge whether it is possible to make good such pretensions. I shall at the same time hope for the benefit of your corrections. I am, &c. B. FRANKLIN.

TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.

Directions for Reading.

Craven Street, 16 May, 1760.

I send my good girl the books I mentioned to her last night. I beg her to accept of them as a small mark of my esteem and friendship. They are written in the familiar, easy manner, for which the French are so remarkable; and afford a good deal of philosophic and practical knowledge, unembarrassed with the dry mathematics used by more exact reasoners, but which are apt to discourage young beginners.

I would advise you to read with a pen in your hand, and enter in a little book short hints of what you find that is curious, or that may be useful; for this will be the best method of imprinting such particulars in your memory, where they will be ready,

either for practice on some future occasion, if they are matters of utility, or at least to adorn and improve your conversation, if they are rather points of curiosity. And as many of the terms of science are such, as you cannot have met with in your common reading, and may therefore be unacquainted with, I think it would be well for you to have a good dictionary at hand, to consult immediately when you meet with a word you do not comprehend the precise meaning of. This may at first seem troublesome and interrupting; but it is a trouble that will daily diminish, as you will daily find less and less occasion for your dictionary, as you become more acquainted with the terms; and in the mean time you will read with more satisfaction, because with more understanding.

When any point occurs, in which you would be glad to have farther information than your book affords you, I beg you would not in the least apprehend, that I should think it a trouble to receive and answer your questions. It will be a pleasure, and no trouble. For though I may not be able, out of my own little stock of knowledge, to afford you what you require, I can easily direct you to the books, where it may most readily be found. Adieu, and believe me ever, my dear friend, yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

Advises her not to be troubled about Reports concerning him. — Negro School. — Faults of Servants. — Marriages. — David Edwards.

London, 27 June, 1760.

My dear Child,

I wrote a line to you by the packet, to let you know we were well, and I promised to write you fully by Captain Budden, and answer all your letters, which I accordingly now sit down to do. I am concerned that so much trouble should be given you by idle reports concerning me. Be satisfied, my dear, that while I have my senses, and God vouchsafes me his protection, I shall do nothing unworthy the character of an honest man, and one that loves his family.*

I have not yet seen Mr. Beatty, nor do I know where to write to him. He forwarded your letter to me from Ireland. The paragraph of your letter, inserted in the papers, related to the negro school. I gave it to the gentlemen concerned, as it was a testimony in favor of their pious design. But I did not expect they would print it with your name. They have since chosen me one of the Society, and I am at present chairman for the current year. I enclose you an account of their proceedings.†

* On a later occasion he wrote to his wife; "Let no one make you uneasy with their idle or malicious scribblings, but enjoy yourself and friends, and the comforts of life, that God has bestowed on you, with a cheerful heart. I am glad their pamphlets give you so little concern. I make no other answer to them at present, than what appears in the seal of this letter." The device on the seal was a dove standing on a coiled serpent, in the act of raising its head and darting out its tongue, surrounded with the motto, *Innocence surmont tout.* This was not his usual seal, but one adopted for the occasion.

† This relates to a scheme, which had been set on foot by the phil-

I did not receive the *Prospect of Quebec*, which you mention that you sent me. Peter continues with me, and behaves as well as I can expect, in a country where there are many occasions of spoiling servants, if they are ever so good. He has as few faults as most of them, and I see with only one eye, and hear only with one ear; so we rub on pretty comfortably. King, that you inquire after, is not with us. He ran away from our house near two years ago, while we were absent in the country; but was soon found in Suffolk, where he had been taken into the service of a lady, that was very fond of the merit of making him a Christian, and contributing to his education and improvement. As he was of little use, and often in mischief, Billy consented to her keeping him while we stay in England. So the lady sent him to school, has him taught to read and write, to play on the violin and French horn, with some other accomplishments more useful in a servant. Whether she will finally be willing to part with him, or persuade Billy to sell him to her, I know not. In the mean time he is no expense to us.

The accounts you give me of the marriages of our friends are very agreeable. I love to hear of every thing that tends to increase the number of good people. You cannot conceive how shamefully the mode

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anthropic Dr. Thomas Bray, who passed a large part of his life in performing deeds of benevolence and charity. He became acquainted with M. D'Allone, at the Hague, who approved and favored his schemes. M. D'Allone, during his lifetime, gave to Dr. Bray a considerable sum of money, which was to be applied to the conversion of negroes in the British Plantations, and at his death he left an additional sum of nine hundred pounds for the same object. Dr. Bray formed an association for the management and proper disposal of these funds. He died in 1730, and the same trust continued to be executed by a company of gentlemen, called "Dr. Bray's Associates." Dr. Franklin was for several years one of these associates.

here is a single life. One can scarce be in the company of a dozen men of circumstance and fortune, but what it is odds that you find on inquiry eleven of them are single. The great complaint is the excessive expensiveness of English wives.

I am extremely concerned with you at the misfortune of our friend Mr. Griffith. How could it possibly happen? It was a terrible fire that of Boston. I shall contribute here towards the relief of the sufferers. Our relations have escaped, I believe, generally; but some of my particular friends must have suffered greatly.

I think you will not complain this year, as you did the last, of being so long without a letter. I have wrote to you very frequently; and shall not be so much out of the way of writing this summer as I was the last. I hope our friend Bartram is safely returned to his family. Remember me to him in the kindest manner.

Poor David Edwards died this day week, of a consumption. I had a letter from a friend of his, acquainting me that he had been long ill, and incapable of doing his business, and was at board in the country. I feared he might be in straits, as he never was prudent enough to lay up any thing. So I wrote to him immediately, that, if he had occasion, he might draw on me for five guineas. But he died before my letter got to hand. I hear the woman, at whose house he long lodged and boarded, has buried him and taken all he left, which could not be much, and there are some small debts unpaid. He maintained a good character at Bury, where he lived some years, and was well respected, to my knowledge, by some persons of note there. I wrote to you before, that we saw him at Bury, when we went through Suffolk into

Norfolk, the year before last. I hope his good father, my old friend, continues well.

Give my duty to mother, and love to my dear Sally. Remember me affectionately to all inquiring friends, and believe me ever, my dearest Debby, your loving husband, B. FRANKLIN.

FROM ISAAC NORRIS TO B. FRANKLIN.

Orders to receive the Parliamentary Grants of Money for Pennsylvania. — State of Affairs in the Province.

Philadelphia, 26 September, 1760.

DEAR FRIEND,

We have sent up to the governor a bill to enable the agents to receive the moneys, which have been, or may be, allotted to this province upon the parliamentary grants; and, if I can keep this letter till we know the governor's resolution upon that bill, it shall be added. The bill gives the agents power to receive the moneys, and purchase stock in their own names for the use of the province, subject to the bills of exchange, to be drawn upon Robert Charles and yourself by the trustees, when thereto required by the Assembly, and notice given to you under the great seal of this province of such drafts, to be made by their order, upon which you will have a power to sell and transfer the said stocks for that purpose.*

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* In compliance with the order in this bill, Dr. Franklin received the money allotted to Pennsylvania, and deposited it in the Bank of England. The following memorandum is taken from a manuscript book, containing an account of his pecuniary affairs, in which it is entered in his own handwriting.

"London, November 4th, 1760.

"State of the transaction at the Exchequer, relating to the parliamentary grant for the year 1758.

We are at present among rocks and sands, in a stormy season, and it depends on you to do every thing in your power in the present crisis; for it is too late for us to give you any assistance. Had it been in my power, you should not have had so many difficulties to struggle with, but the House were of another mind, as well in our reëmitting act, as the bargain and engagements with Governor Denny, for which there was no necessity. But possibly all may, under Providence, end better than expectation; for, if the time should be suffered to elapse, or the principal acts be confirmed, we shall be made more easy in

The sum given to Pennsylvania and the Lower Counties jointly, for their 2727 men		£29,993	00 0
By General Abercromby's Report, there were, of these, effective men in the field, from Pennsylvania, 2446; from the Lower Counties, 281.			
Therefore the proportion to Pennsylvania was . . .		26,902	8 0
To the Lower Counties		3,090	12 0
		£29,993	00 0
Paid fees and gratuities at the Exchequer, viz.			
Tellers	£73 19 8		
Auditor	35 0 0		
do. extra, a gratuity	5 5 0		
Mr. Wilford, sign manual and gratuity	2 12 6		
Mr. Lucas	15 19 6		
Mr. Willis	10 6		
		133	7 2
Remains to be divided between the two governments		£29,859	12 10
Of which the share of Pennsylvania is	£26,782 14 10		
The Lower Counties	3,076 18 0		
		£29,859	12 10

I received the whole, Mr. Barclay, Agent for the Lower Counties, being present. I paid to him the above £3,076 18 0; and immediately went to the Bank, and lodged there the sum remaining in my hands, viz. £26,800, without deducting what I had advanced in fees, at the Exchequer, &c."

This money was advantageously invested in various kinds of stocks

our controversies with the Proprietary for the future, especially as the war in Canada is at an end, and the French entirely subdued in that quarter.

The two pamphlets never came to my hands, but I procured, and read them, as well as your judicious answer to one of them; upon which pray receive my compliments among the others, for I approve and value it much. The chief justice told me he was of the same sentiments, and, by what I can learn, it gives general satisfaction here.

The House have received the government amendments to our Bill, for appointing yourself and Robert Charles to negotiate our part of the parliamentary grant. I shall enclose a copy of the bill and amendment, which need no comment. Your affectionate friend,

ISAAC NORRIS.

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but, on account of an ill-timed and imprudent resolve of the Assembly, it was ultimately drawn out at a loss. See Vol. IV. p. 152. This loss, in selling the stocks and drawing the money to America, was made the theme of abuse against Franklin by the Proprietary party, although he obeyed an express order of the Assembly. After Franklin returned to Pennsylvania, the Proprietor himself, Thomas Penn, wrote as follows to Governor Hamilton. "I think the Assembly made a very handsome allowance to Mr. Franklin, though short of his expenses; but what I admire more at is, that they have made an allowance for his loss in the stocks, which they had no power by law to do, and which ought to have been made good to the public by him and those members of the House, that gave him directions to do it." According to this doctrine, it was the duty of the members of the Assembly, and of the agents of the Assembly, to bear personally all the loss, which the public funds might suffer, by depreciation or change in the value of stocks, while the money was in their hands!

TO LORD KAMES.

Journey in England and Wales.

Coventry, 27 September, 1760.

MY DEAR LORD,

We are here upon a journey, which when first proposed was to have extended farther than the season will now permit. We designed going over to Ireland, and, having made the tour of that country, we were to have crossed from its northern part to Dumfries, or some other port on your coast, which would have given us the pleasing opportunity of seeing once more our friends in Scotland. This, if we could have left London early in the summer; but the litigation between our province and its Proprietor, in which we were engaged, confined us in London till the middle of this month. That cause is indeed at length ended, and in a great degree to our satisfaction; but, by its continuing so long, we are disappointed in our hopes of spending some more happy days at Kames, with you and your amiable family.

I do not pretend to charge this to your account as a letter. It is rather to acknowledge myself in your debt, and to promise payment. It is some time since I received your obliging favor of June last. When I return to London, which we intend after seeing Cheshire, Wales, Bristol, and spending some time at Bath, I hope to be a more punctual correspondent. I am your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant, B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. Our thanks to Lady Kames for the receipt. Enclosed we send the *Chapter.**

* This "Chapter" was the *Parable against Persecution*, first pub-

TO DAVID HUME.

The "Historical Review." — Duke of Bedford. — Canada Expedition. — Mr. Hume's Essay on the "Jealousy of Commerce." — Use of New Words.

Coventry, 27 September, 1760.

DEAR SIR,

I have too long postponed answering your obliging letter, a fault I will not attempt to excuse, but rather rely on your goodness to forgive it, if I am more punctual for the future.

I am obliged to you for the favorable sentiments you express of the pieces sent to you; though the volume relating to our Pennsylvania affairs was not written by me, nor any part of it, except the remarks on the Proprietor's estimate of his estate, and some of the inserted messages and reports of the Assembly, which I wrote when at home, as a member of committees appointed by the House for that service. The rest was by another hand.*

But though I am satisfied by what you say, that the Duke of Bedford was hearty in the scheme of the expedition, I am not so clear that others in the ad-

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lished by Lord Kames, and about which a great deal has been said and written. See Vol. II. p. 118.

* The treatise here mentioned is probably the HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA, which is contained in the third volume of this work. The above letter to Mr. Hume has come to my hands since that volume passed through the press. Doubts were for a long time entertained, as to the authorship; but William Temple Franklin comments upon it largely, as having been written by his grandfather; Mr. Duane has expressed the same conviction, and included it in his edition of Franklin's writings; the London *Monthly Review* speaks of it very positively as having proceeded from his pen; and Dr. Franklin himself, referring to it incidentally in his autobiography, says it was "*published*" by him. These

ministration were equally in earnest in that matter. It is certain, that, after the Duke of Newcastle's first orders to raise troops in the colonies, and promise to send over commissions to the officers, with arms and clothing for the men, we never had another syllable from him for eighteen months; during all which time

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testimonies, added to the style of the performance and the ability of its execution, left no reasonable ground for supposing that he did not write it. But the above declaration, made at the time, and with no other motive than that of correcting an erroneous impression, which Mr. Hume had received from reading the book, would seem at least to affect materially his title to the authorship, as that term is usually understood. And, since this fact was communicated without any injunction of secrecy, or any apparent wish for concealment, it is remarkable that it should never have been publicly known through some other channel, especially as Franklin was much censured by his political adversaries, on the supposition that he was the author.

The circumstances of the case, however, render it almost certain, that the REVIEW was written under his direction, and from materials communicated by him; and that he fully approved what it contained. Internal evidence also authorizes the belief, that he carefully revised it before it went to press, and that it received occasional touches from his pen. Farther than this it can hardly be presumed, consistently with his declaration to Mr. Hume, that his agency in the authorship extended. The book was designed for a particular object, that of promoting the claims of the Pennsylvania Assembly in their controversy with the Proprietaries, by correcting what he believed to be the false views of the public generally, in regard to the nature of the controversy and the complaints of the Assembly. He took pains to circulate copies of the work, as soon as it was published, both in England and America. Among his papers the following memorandum has been found. "*July 12th*, 1759. Sent to Mr. Hall five hundred REVIEWS; fifty to be delivered to the Assembly. Also sent to Mr. Parker twenty-five copies; and to Mr. Mecom twenty-five." Mr. Parker resided in New York, and Mr. Mecom in Boston.

It should moreover be observed, that a large part of the book is made up of the messages and reports of the Assembly, while Franklin was a member of that body; sometimes extracts being freely inserted, and at other times the substance in a more condensed form. Many of these messages and reports he acknowledges to have been written by himself; so that, whatever hand may have been employed to put the materials into shape, in reality the contents of the work may be regarded as more the fruit of his mind, than of any other writer's.

the army lay idle at Albany for want of orders and necessaries; and it began to be thought at last, that, if an expedition had ever been intended, the first design and the orders given must, through the multiplicity of business here at home, have been quite forgotten.*

I am not a little pleased to hear of your change of sentiments in some particulars relating to America; because I think it of importance to our general welfare, that the people of this nation should have right notions of us, and I know no one, that has it more in his power to rectify their notions than Mr. Hume. I have lately read with great pleasure, as I do every thing of yours, the excellent Essay on the *Jealousy of Commerce.* I think it cannot but have a good effect in promoting a certain interest, too little thought of by selfish man, and scarcely ever mentioned, so that we hardly have a name for it; I mean the *interest of humanity,* or common good of mankind. But I hope, particularly from that Essay, an abatement of the jealousy, that reigns here, of the commerce of the colonies, at least so far as such abatement may be reasonable.

I thank you for your friendly admonition relating to some unusual words in the pamphlet. It will be of service to me. The "*pejorate,*" and the "*colonize,*" since they are not in common use here, I give up as bad; for certainly in writings intended for persuasion and for general information, one cannot be too clear; and every expression in the least obscure is a fault. The "*unshakeable*" too, though clear, I give up as rather low. The introducing new words, where

* This was the expedition projected against Canada in the year 1746.

we are already possessed of old ones sufficiently expressive, I confess must be generally wrong, as it tends to change the language; yet, at the same time, I cannot but wish the usage of our tongue permitted making new words, when we want them, by composition of old ones whose meanings are already well understood. The German allows of it, and it is a common practice with their writers. Many of our present English words were originally so made; and many of the Latin words. In point of clearness, such compound words would have the advantage of any we can borrow from the ancient or from foreign languages. For instance, the word *inaccessible*, though long in use among us, is not yet, I dare say, so universally understood by our people, as the word *uncomeatable* would immediately be, which we are not allowed to write. But I hope with you, that we shall always in America make the best English of this Island our standard, and I believe it will be so. I assure you it often gives me pleasure to reflect, how greatly the *audience* (if I may so term it) of a good English writer will, in another century or two, be increased by the increase of English people in our colonies.

My son presents his respects with mine to you and Dr. Monro. We received your printed circular letter to the members of the Society,* and purpose some time next winter to send each of us a little philosophical essay. With the greatest esteem, I am, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

* A Philosophical Society lately established at Edinburgh.

TO JOHN BASKERVILLE.*

On the Use of his Printing Types.

Craven Street, 1760.

DEAR SIR,

Let me give you a pleasant instance of the prejudice some have entertained against your work. Soon after I returned, discoursing with a gentleman concerning the artists of Birmingham, he said you would be a means of blinding all the readers in the nation; for the strokes of your letters, being too thin and narrow, hurt the eye, and he could never read a line of them without pain. "I thought," said I, "you were going to complain of the gloss of the paper, which some object to." "No, no," said he, "I have heard that mentioned, but it is not that; it is in the form

* John Baskerville, a celebrated printer, was born at Wolverley, in the county of Worcester, in the year 1706. He was heir to a small paternal estate, but he occupied himself for several years in teaching a school at Birmingham. Possessing a taste for painting, he entered into a lucrative branch of japanning, in which business he continued for life, and acquired by it a fortune, which made him independent. In the year 1750 he turned his thoughts towards an improvement in type-founding and printing. Several years were spent before he could produce such types as pleased him, and he expended six hundred pounds in the process. The first work he printed was a quarto edition of Virgil, in the year 1756. This was followed at different dates by a folio Bible, The Book of Common Prayer, Newton's edition of Milton, Juvenal and Persius, Horace, Addison's Works, and several of the other Latin classics and English authors. These publications were unsurpassed in their typographical beauty, and they place Baskerville among the most eminent of those, who have contributed to the improvement of the art of printing. The profits of the undertaking, however, were not in proportion to the enterprise and expense attending it; as will be seen by the following extract from a letter, which he wrote to Dr. Franklin, dated Birmingham, September 7th, 1767. Dr. Franklin was at that time on a visit to Paris.

"After having obtained the reputation of excelling in the most useful art known to mankind, of which I have your testimony, is it not

and cut of the letters themselves; they have not that height and thickness of the stroke, which make the common printing so much the more comfortable to the eye." You see this gentleman was a *connoisseur*. In vain I endeavoured to support your character against the charge; he knew what he felt, and could see the reason of it, and several other gentlemen among his friends had made the same observation, &c.

Yesterday he called to visit me, when, mischievously bent to try his judgment, I stepped into my closet, tore off the top of Mr. Caslon's specimen, and produced it to him as yours, brought with me from Birmingham; saying, I had been examining it, since he spoke to me, and could not for my life perceive the disproportion he mentioned, desiring him to point it out to me. He readily undertook it, and went over the several founts, showing me everywhere what he

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to the last degree provoking, that I cannot get even bread by it? I must starve, had I no other dependence. I have offered the London booksellers to print for them within five per cent as low as their common currency, but cannot get from them a single job. I offered my whole apparatus of letter-founding, printing, &c. to the Court of France by the Duke de Nivernois, when he was ambassador here, for eight thousand pounds, which was politely refused as being too large a sum. Mr. Godfroy, who may be heard of at Mr. Sayde's, optician to the King, lately told our good friend Mr. Boulton, that France wished to be possessed of my printing, &c, on moderate terms, in which I heartily join.

"The intention of this is, therefore, to beg the favor of you to propose and recommend this affair, as Mr. Godfroy may point out the way. I want only to set on foot a treaty; if they will not come to my terms, I may possibly come to theirs. Suppose we reduce the price to six thousand pounds. Louis the Fourteenth would have given three times that sum, or Czar Peter. Let the reason of my parting with it be, the death of my son and intended successor, and, having acquired a moderate fortune, I wish to consult my ease in the afternoon of life, as I am now turned of sixty."

The French government did not accept the offer. Baskerville died on the 8th of January, 1775. In the year 1779, his types were purchased by a literary Society in Paris for £3700, and were employed in printing Beaumarchais's edition of Voltaire.

thought instances of that disproportion; and declared, that he could not then read the specimen, without feeling very strongly the pain he had mentioned to me. I spared him that time the confusion of being told, that these were the types he had been reading all his life, with so much ease to his eyes; the types his adored Newton is printed with, on which he has pored not a little; nay, the very types his own book is printed with, (for he is himself an author,) and yet never discovered this painful disproportion in them, till he thought they were yours. I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

London, 1760.

MY DEAR CHILD,

Yesterday I received your letter of February 10th, in which you mention that it was some months since you heard from me. During my journey I wrote several times to you, particularly from Liverpool and Glasgow, and since my return some very long letters, that might have been with you before your last to me; but I suppose the severe winter on your coast, among other delays, has kept the vessels out. One packet, Bonnel, was blown quite back to England.

I am sorry for the death of your black boy, as you seem to have had a regard for him. You must have suffered a good deal in the fatigue of nursing him in such a distemper. F—— has wrote me a very idle letter, desiring me not to furnish the woman, pretending to be his wife, with any thing on his account, and says the letters she shows are a forgery.* But

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* In a previous letter to Mrs. Franklin, dated August 6th, 1759, he

I have one she left with me, in which he acknowledges her to be his wife, and the children his, and I am sure it is his handwriting by comparing it with this he has now wrote to me and a former one. So he must be a very bad man, and I am glad I never knew him. She was sick and perishing with her children in the beginning of the winter, and has had of me in all about four guineas. What is become of her now, I know not. She seemed a very helpless body, and I found her in some falsehoods that disgusted me; but I pitied the poor children, the more as they were descended though remotely from our good old friends, whom you remember.

I have now the pleasure to acquaint you, that our business draws near a conclusion, and that in less than a month we shall have a hearing, after which I shall be able to fix a time for my return.* My love to all, from, dear Debby, your affectionate husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

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said; "There is a person, who represents herself to be the wife of Mr. H. F——, watchmaker, of Philadelphia. She tells me a very lame story of her husband's sending her over before him, with two small children, to prepare a place for him, he intending to come here to settle. I cannot understand it; but, as the woman is in distress, and ready to starve with her children for want of necessaries, I have, out of regard for my townsman, furnished her with a little money. Pray mention it privately to him, that I may know whether I ought to advance any more on his account."

In a postscript to the same letter he says; "When you get Mr. Dunlap to direct your letters, desire him not to put the title *Honorable* before my name, but to direct plainly and simply to 'B. Franklin, Esq., in Craven Street, London.'"

* The business was not concluded so soon as he anticipated. The hearing came on, but a strong opposition was made by the Proprietors' counsel against the Pennsylvania claims. Thomas Penn, in a letter to Governor Hamilton, dated June 6th, 1760, says, "Since I wrote to you, we have, on Tuesday last, finished our opposition to the acts of Assembly at the Board of Trade; and we think the arguments, which were well enforced by our counsel, had such an effect on the Lords, as to induce them to repeal most of the laws. From a conversation

TO THE PRINTER OF THE LONDON CHRONICLE.*

On the Means of disposing an Enemy to Peace; purporting to be a Chapter from an Old Book.

SIR,

I met lately with an old quarto book on a stall, the titlepage and the author's name wanting, but containing discourses, addressed to some king of Spain, extolling the greatness of monarchy, translated into English, and said in the last leaf to be printed at

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hat has passed, they are of opinion, that a deputy-governor and the Assembly have no right to give away our property without our consent. Mr. Franklin heard a great deal said of the difference between a representative of the people of England and that of a colony only by a charter from the crown; so that I think he will not dare to patronize such schemes for raising the power of the Assembly to so great a height as he and his friends have done.

"If the Lords of Trade report against all the laws, in which officers are appointed by the Assembly, we shall never after allow them to appoint one again, but their own officers of their House, which by the charter they are allowed to do; but keep the legislative and executive powers entirely distinct."

Again, June 27th, after stating, that the Lords of Trade had reported for the repeal of certain laws, he added; "They have been pleased, in a manner I do not well like, to censure us for not attending so closely to the proceedings of the Assembly as to prevent their encroachments on the prerogative, and say we look upon ourselves as landholders only, which I think is not to be accounted for, when they know we have been disputing with the Assembly for twenty years past in support of the prerogative of the crown. However, as they have reported against these laws, we must put up with that, and the more readily, as it shows their disapprobation of the encroachments and claims of the Assembly."

* The date of this paper has not been ascertained. Its contents show it to have been written, however, during the author's first public mission to England, towards the close of the French war, and probably in 1760, or the year following. Under the disguise of a pretended chapter from an old book, and in the imitation of an antiquated style, he throws out hints suited to attract attention and afford amusement. The piece is here printed as transcribed from the first draft; the spelling and capital letters being retained as they are found in the manuscript.

London by Bonham Norton and John Bill, "Printers to the King's most excellent Majestie, MDCXXIX." The author appears to have been a Jesuit, for, speaking of that order in two places, he calls it *our Society.* Give me leave to communicate to the public a chapter of it, so *apropos* to our present situation, (only changing Spain for France,) that I think it well worth general attention and observation, as it discovers the arts of our enemies, and may therefore help in some degree to put us on our guard against them.

What effect the artifices here recommended might have had in the times when our author wrote, I cannot pretend to say; but I believe, the present age being more enlightened and our people better acquainted than formerly with our true national interest, such arts can now hardly prove so generally successful; for we may with pleasure observe, and to the honor of the British people, that, though writings and discourses like these have lately not been wanting, yet few in any of the classes he particularizes seem to be affected by them, but all ranks and degrees among us persist hitherto in declaring for a vigorous prosecution of the war, in preference to an unsafe, disadvantageous, or dishonorable peace; yet, as a little change of fortune may make such writings more attended to, and give them greater weight, I think the publication of this piece, as it shows the spring from whence these scribblers draw their poisoned waters, may be of public utility. A BRITON.

"CHAP. XXXIV.

"*On the Meanes of disposing the Enemie to Peace.*

"Warres, with whatsoever Prudence undertaken and conducted, do not always succeed. Many Thinges out

of Man's Power to governe, such as Dearth of Provision, Tempests, Pestilence, and the like, oftentimes interfering and totally overthrowing the best Designes; so that these Enemies (England and Holland) of our Monarchy though apparently at first the weaker, may by disastrous Events of Warre, on our Parte, become the stronger, and though not in such degree, as to endanger the Bodie of this great Kingdom, yet, by their greater Power of Shipping and Aptness in Sea Affairs, to be able to cut off, if I may so speake, some of its smaller Limbs and Members that are remote therefrom and not easily defended, to wit, our Islands and Colonies in the Indies; thereby however depriving the Bodie of its wonted Nourishment, so that it must thenceforthe languish and grow weake, if those Parts are not recovered, which possibly may by continuance of Warre be found unlikelie to be done. And the Enemie, puffed up with their successes, and hopin still for more, may not be disposed to Peace on suc Termes as would be suitable to the honor of you Majestie, and to the Welfare of your State and Subjects. In such Case, the following Meanes may hav good Effect.

"It is well knowne, that these Northerne Peopl though hardie of Bodie and bold in Fight, be nevertheless, through overmuch Eating and other Intemperance, slowe of Wit, and dull in Understanding, so that they are ofttimes more easilie to be governed and turned by Skill than by Force. There is therefore always Hope, that, by wise Counsel and dexterous Management, those Advantages, which through crosse Accidents in Warre have been lost, may again with Honour be recovered. In this Place I shall say little of the Power of Money secretly distributed among Grandees, or their Friends or Paramours; that

Method being in all Ages known and practised. If the *minds* of Enemies can be *changed*, they may be brought to grant willingly and for nothing what much Gold would scarcely have otherwise prevailed to obtaine. Yet, as the procuring this Change is to be by fitte Instruments, some few Doubloones will not unprofitably be distributed by your Majestie. The manner whereof I shall now briefely recite.

"In those Countries, and particularly in England, there are not wanting Menne of Learning, ingenious Speakers and Writers, who are nevertheless in lowe Estate, and pinched by Fortune. These, being privately gained by proper Meanes, must be instructed in their Sermons, Discourses, Writings, Poems, and Songs, to handle and specially inculcate Points like these which followe. Let them magnifie the Blessings of Peace, and enlarge mightilie thereon, which is not unbecoming grave Divines and other Christian Menne. Let them expatiate on the Miseries of Warre, the Waste of Christian Blood, the growing Scarcitie of Labourers and Workmen, the Dearness of all foreign Wares and Merchandise, the Interruption of Commerce, the Captures of Ships, the Increase and great Burthen of Taxes. Let them represent the Warre as an unmeasurable Advantage to Particulars, and to Particulars only, (thereby to excite envie against those, who manage and provide for the same,) while so prejudicial to the Commonweale and People in general. Let them represent the Advantages gained against us, as trivial and of little Import; the Places taken from us, as of small Trade and Produce, inconvenient for Situation, unwholesome for Ayre and Climate, useless to their Nations, and greatlie chargeable to keepe, draining the home Countrie both of Menne and Money.

"Let them urge, that, if a Peace be forced on us, and those Places withheld, it will nourishe secret Griefe

and Malice in the King and Grandees of Spain, which will ere long breake forthe in new Warres, when those Places may again be retaken, without the Merit and Grace of restoring them willingly for Peace' Sake. Let them represent the making or Continuance of Warres, from views of Gaine, to be base and unworthy a brave People, as those made from Views of Ambition are mad and wicked. Let them insinuate, that the Continuance of the present Warre, on their Parte, hath these Ingredients in its Nature. Then let them magnifie the great Power of your Majestie, and the Strength of your Kingdome, the inexhaustible Wealthe of your Mines, the Greatness of your Incomes, and thence your Abilitie of continuing the Warre; hinting withal the new Alliances you may possiblie make; at the same time setting forth the sincere Disposition you have for Peace, and that it is only a Concerne for your Honour, and the Honour of your Realme, that induceth you to insist on the Restitution of the places taken.

"If, with all this, they shrewdly intimate, and cause it to be understood by artful Wordes and believed, that their own Prince is himself in Heart for Peace, on your Majestie's Termes, and grieved at the Obstinacy and Perverseness of those among his People, who are for continuing the Warre, a marvellous Effect shall by these Discourses and Writings be produced; and a wonderful strong Partie shall your Majestie raise among your Enemies in Favour of the Peace you desire; insomuch that their own Princes and wisest Counsellours will in a Sorte be constrained to yeeld thereto. For, in this Warre of Wordes, the Avarice and Ambition, the Hope and Fears, and all the Crowd of humane Passions will be raised and put in Array to fight for your Interests against the reall and substantiall Interest of their own Countries.

The simple and undiscerning Many shall be carried away by the Plausibilitie and Well-seeming of these Discourses; and the Opinions becoming more popular, all the Rich Menne, who have great Possessions, and fear the Continuance of Taxes, and hope Peace will end them, shall be emboldened thereby to crie aloud for Peace; their Dependents, who are many, must do the same.

"All Merchaunts, fearing Loss of Ships and greater Burthens on Trade by further Duties and Subsidies, and hoping greater Profits by the ending of the Warre, shall join in the crie for Peace. All the Usurers and Lenders of Money to the State, who on a Peace hope great Profits on their Bargains, and fear if the Warre be continued the State shall become bankeroute, and unable to pay them; these, who have no small Weighte, shall join the crie for Peace. All, who maligne the bold Conductors of the Warre, and envie the Glorie they may have thereby obtained; these shall crie aloud for Peace, hoping, that, when the Warre shall cease, such Menne becoming less necessarie shall be more lightly esteemed, and themselves more sought after. All the Officers of the Enemie's Armies and Fleets, who wish for Repose and to enjoy their Salaries or Rewardes in Quietnesse, and without Peril; these, and their Friends and Families, who desire their Safetie and the Solace of their Societie, shall all crie for Peace.

"All those, who be timorous by Nature, amongste whom be reckoned Menne of Learning that lead sedentarie Lives, doing little Exercise of Bodie, and thence obtaining but few and weake Spirits; great Statesmen, whose natural Spirits be exhausted by much Thinking, or depressed by overmuch Feasting; together with all Women, whose Power, weake as they

are, is not a little amongste the Menne; these shall incessantly speake for Peace. And finally all Courtiers, who suppose they conforme thereby to the Inclinations of the Prince, (*ad Exemplum Regis*, &c.); all who are in Places, fear to lose them, or hope for better; all who are out of Places, and hope to obtaine them; with all the worldly minded Clergy, who seeke Preferment; these, with all the Weighte of their Character and Influence, shall join the crie for Peace; till it becomes one universal Clamour, and no Sound, but that of Peace, Peace, Peace, shall be heard from every Quarter.

"Then shall your Majestie's Termes of Peace be listened to with much Readinesse, the Places taken from you be willingly restored, and your Kingdome, recovering its Strength, shall only need to waite a few Years for more favourable Occasions, when the Advantages to your Power, proposed by beginning the Warre, but lost by its bad Successe, shall, with better Fortune, be finally obtained."

TO HUGH ROBERTS.

Hospital. — The Old Junto.

London, 26 February, 1761.

DEAR FRIEND,

I think I have before acknowledged the receipt of your favor of the 15th of the 5th month, 1760. (I use your own notation, because I cannot tell what month it was, without reckoning.) I thank you for it, however, once more. I received it by the hand of your son, and had the pleasure withal of seeing him grown up a solid, sensible young man. You will have, I see, a great deal of satisfaction in him, and I congratulate you cordially on that head.

I was glad to hear that the Hospital is still supported. I write to the managers by this ship. In my journeys through England and Scotland I have visited several of the same kind, which I think were all in a good way. I send you by this ship sundry of their accounts and rules, which were given me. Possibly you may find a useful hint or two in some of them. I believe we shall be able to make a small collection here; but I cannot promise it will be very considerable.

You tell me you sometimes visit the ancient Junto. I wish you would do it oftener. I know they all love and respect you, and regret your absenting yourself so much. People are apt to grow strange, and not understand one another so well, when they meet but seldom. Since we have held that Club, till we are grown gray together, let us hold it out to the end. For my own part, I find I love company, chat, a laugh, a glass, and even a song, as well as ever; and at the same time relish better than I used to do the grave observations and wise sentences of old men's conversation; so that I am sure the Junto will be still as agreeable to me as it ever has been. I therefore hope it will not be discontinued, as long as we are able to crawl together.*

I thank you for the frequent kind visits you are so good as to make to my little family. I now hope in a little time to have the pleasure of seeing them, and thanking my friends in person. With the sincerest esteem and regard, I am, dear friend, yours affectionately, B. FRANKLIN.

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* One of Franklin's songs for the JUNTO has been printed above, (p. 92). Another, of a political complexion, has been found among his manuscripts, which was probably written about the time of the Stamp Act, or a little later. The allusion to France, in the last stanza but

TO JOSIAH QUINCY.

Edmund Quincy. — Affairs in England.

London, 8 April, 1761.

DEAR SIR,

I received your very obliging letter of December 25th, by the hand of your valuable son, who had before favored me now and then with a kind visit. I congratulate you on his account, as I am sure you

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one, would seem to refer to that period. The author was then in England, and it is not known for what occasion the song was composed.

THE MOTHER COUNTRY; A SONG.

"WE have an old mother that peevish is grown;
She snubs us like children that scarce walk alone;
She forgets we 're grown up and have sense of our own;
Which nobody can deny, deny,
Which nobody can deny.

"If we don't obey orders, whatever the case,
She frowns, and she chides, and she loses all pati-
Ence, and sometimes she hits us a slap in the face,
Which nobody can deny, &c.

"Her orders so odd are, we often suspect
That age has impaired her sound intellect;
But still an old mother should have due respect,
Which nobody can deny, &c.

"Let 's bear with her humors as well as we can;
But why should we bear the abuse of her man?
When servants make mischief, they earn the rattan,
Which nobody should deny, &c.

"Know too, ye bad neighbours, who aim to divide
The sons from the mother, that still she 's our pride;
And if ye attack her we 're all of her side,
Which nobody can deny, &c.

"We 'll join in her lawsuits, to baffle all those,
Who, to get what she has, will be often her foes;
For we know it must all be our own, when she goes,
Which nobody can deny, deny
Which nobody can deny.'

must have a great deal of satisfaction in him His ingenuous, manly, and generous behaviour, in a transaction here with the Society of Arts, gave me great pleasure, as it was much to his reputation.*

I am glad my weak endeavours for our common interest were acceptable to you and my American friends. I shall be very happy indeed, if any good arises from them. The people in power here do now seem convinced of the truth of the principles I have inculcated, and incline to act upon them; but how far they will be able to do so at a peace, is still

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* The gentleman here mentioned was Edmund Quincy, eldest son of Josiah Quincy. An extract from the *Memoir of Thomas Hollis* will explain the allusion to his transactions in England. "In a letter, dated July 2d, 1760, Dr. Mayhew had recommended to Mr. Hollis's good offices Mr. Edmund Quincy, a gentleman of liberal education, who had been in trade several years, and was come to London with a design to settle a mercantile correspondence there, his father being a gentleman of very considerable fortune in New England. Mr. Quincy had thoughts of engaging in the potash business, but was at some loss about the premium for encouraging importation; and the purpose of Dr. Mayhew's application to Mr. Hollis was, that, as Mr. Hollis was a member of the Society of Arts and Commerce, he would be both able and willing to resolve any doubts Mr. Quincy might be under respecting that matter." — Vol. I. p. 120.

By a letter from Mr. Quincy to Mr. Hollis, dated July 25th, 1766, it appears that he was successful in his scheme for manufacturing potash. "I have the pleasure to inform you," said he, "that the manufacture of potash is now so firmly established, it needs no further assistance from the Society, than their instruction how to assay it, so as to detect fraud, and maintain its credit, concerning which the Society will have a letter from our General Assembly. As far as my influence extends, I have encouraged the culture of silk in this part of the world; and I doubt not, in the course of four or five years, or as soon as mulberry trees can be brought to be of use, we shall be able to make some figure in that article, especially should the Society's bounty be continued on that commodity; for we find by experience, that the severity of our winters is no detriment to the eggs of the silk worm, wherever deposited." — Ibid. p. 337.

Edmund Quincy died at sea, March 31st, 1768, on his homeward voyage from the West Indies, at the age of thirty-five.

uncertain, especially as the war in Germany grows daily less favorable to us. My kinsman, Williams, was but ill informed in the account he gave you of my situation here. The Assembly voted me fifteen hundred pounds sterling, when I left Philadelphia, to defray the expense of my voyage, and negotiations in England, since which they have given nothing more, though I have been here near four years. They will, I make no doubt, on winding up the affair, do what is just; but they cannot afford to be extravagant, as that report would make them.

Pray make my best respects acceptable to your amiable family, and do me the justice to believe, that no one more sincerely wishes a continuance of your happiness, than, dear friend, yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.*

TO EDWARD PENNINGTON.†

Concerning the Property of the Penn Family in Pennsylvania.

London, 9 May, 1761.

SIR,

I enclose you a letter from your kinsman, Mr. Springet Penn, with whom I had no acquaintance until

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* Josiah Quincy, to whom the above letter was written, resided in Braintree, Massachusetts, and was the father of the distinguished patriot, Josiah Quincy, Junior, who will be mentioned hereafter. An early acquaintance and attachment had been formed between Mr. Quincy, the father, and Dr. Franklin, the particulars of which are described by the latter in his autobiography.

† Mr. Pennington was an eminent merchant of Philadelphia. There was a family connexion between his ancestors and William Penn's first wife, whose name before her marriage was Springet.

lately, but have the pleasure to find him a very sensible, discreet young man, with excellent dispositions, which makes me the more regret, that the government as well as property of our province should pass out of that line. There has, by his account, been something very mysterious in the conduct of his uncle, Mr. Thomas Penn, towards him. He was his guardian; but, instead of endeavouring to educate him at home under his eye in a manner becoming the elder branch of their house, has from his infancy been endeavouring to get rid of him.

He first proposed sending him to the East Indies When that was declined, he had a scheme of sending him to Russia; but, the young gentleman's mother absolutely refusing to let him go out of the kingdom, unless to Pennsylvania to be educated in the college there, he would by no means hear of his going thither, but bound him an apprentice to a county attorney in an obscure part of Sussex, which, after two years' stay, finding that he was taught nothing valuable, nor could see any company that might improve him, he left, and returned to his mother, with whom he has been ever since, much neglected by his uncle, except lately that he has been a little civil, to get him to join in a power of attorney to W. Peters and R. Hockley for the sale of some Philadelphia lots, of which he is told three undivided fourth parts belong to him. But he is not shown the right he has to them; nor has he any plan of their situation, by which he may be advised of their value; nor was he told, till lately, that he had any such right, which makes him suspect that he may have other rights that are concealed from him.

In some letters to his father's eldest brother, Springet Penn, whose heir he is, he finds that Sir William

Keith surveyed for him, the said Springet, a manor of seventy-five thousand acres on the Susquehanna, which he called Springetsbury, and would be glad to know what became of that survey, and whether it was ever conveyed away. By searching the records, you may possibly obtain some light in this and other land affairs, that may be for his interest. The good inclinations you have shown towards that interest, in a letter that has been shown to me, encourage me to recommend this matter earnestly to your care and prudence; and the more privately you carry on your inquiries, for the present, the better it will be.

His uncle has lately proposed to him to buy of him Pennsbury manor house, with one thousand acres of the land near the house, pretending that his principal reason for doing it was not the value of the land, but an inclination he had to possess the ancient home of the head of the family, and a little land round it just to support it. You know the situation of that manor, and can judge whether it would be prudent to sell the part proposed from the rest, and will advise him concerning it. He has refused to treat about it at present, as well as to sign the power of attorney for the sale of the city lots; upon which his late guardian has brought in an account against him, and demands a debt of four hundred pounds, which he urges him to pay, for that, as he says, he very much wants the money, which does not seem to look well.

Not only the Land Office may be searched for warrants and surveys to the young gentleman's ancestors, but also the Record Office for deeds of gift from the first proprietor, and other subsequent grants or conveyances. I may tell you in confidence, that some lawyers are of opinion, that the government was not legally conveyed from the eldest branch to others of

the family; but this is to be farther inquired into, and at present it is not to be talked of. I am with much esteem, Sir, &c. B. FRANKLIN.*

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

Tour in Holland and Flanders.

Utrecht, in Holland, 14 September, 1761.

MY DEAR CHILD,

I wrote to you just before we left London, that we were about to make a short tour to Holland. I wrote to you since from Antwerp in Flanders, and am now to acquaint you, that, having seen almost all the principal places, and the things worthy of notice, in those two countries, we are on our return to London, where we hope to be next Saturday or Sunday, that we may not miss the Coronation. At Amsterdam I met with Mr. Crellius and his daughter, that was formerly Mrs. Neigh. Her husband, Dr. Neigh, died in Carolina, and she is married again and lives very well in that city. They treated us with great civility and kindness, and will be so obliging as to forward this letter to you, a ship being bound to New York from Amsterdam. We are in good health, and have had a great deal

* In answer to one of Mr. Pennington's letters, he wrote as follows, January 9th, 1762. "I received your favor of October 21st, with one enclosed for Mr. Penn, which I have delivered to him. I doubt he will not know of this opportunity time enough to write to you, and therefore I may say for him, that he appeared well pleased with your letter, and disposed to follow your advice of not selling the manor. The opinion, that has been long expected on his case, is not yet given, but will be now very soon. I am now preparing to return, and propose taking passage in the first man-of-war that goes to any part of North America in the ensuing spring or summer. It will be a pleasure to me to meet with you in the Assembly, as I see by the papers you are chosen for our county."

of pleasure, and received a good deal of information in this tour, that may be useful when we return to America. My love to my dear Sally, and affectionate regards to all. Billy presents his duty. I am, my dear Debby, your ever loving husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.

Craven Street, 29 October, 1761.

My dear Polly's good mamma bids me write two or three lines, by way of apology for her so long omitting to write. She acknowledges the receiving of two agreeable letters from her beloved daughter, enclosing one for Sally Franklin, which was much approved (excepting one word only) and sent as directed.

The reasons of her not writing are, that her time all day is fully taken up, during the daylight, with the care of her family, and — lying abed in the morning. And her eyes are so bad, that she cannot see to write in the evening — for playing at cards. So she hopes that one, who is all goodness, will certainly forgive her, when her excuses are so substantial. As for the secretary, he has not a word to say in his own behalf, though full as great an offender, but throws himself upon mercy; pleading only that he is, with the greatest esteem and sincerest regard, his dear Polly's ever affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO LORD KAMES.

Remarks upon the "Introduction to the Art of Thinking." — The "Art of Virtue." — Dr. Cullen. — The "Principles of Equity." — Mr. Morgan.

London, November, 1761.

MY DEAR LORD,

It is long since I have afforded myself the pleasure of writing to you. As I grow in years, I find I grow more indolent, and more apt to procrastinate. I am indeed a bad correspondent; but what avails confession without amendment?

When I come so late with my thanks for your truly valuable *Introduction to the Art of Thinking*, can I have any right to inquire after your *Elements of Criticism*? I promise myself no small satisfaction in perusing that work also, when it shall appear. By the first, you sow thick in the young mind the seeds of good sense concerning moral conduct, which, as they grow and are transplanted into life, must greatly adorn the character and promote the happiness of the person. Permit me to say, that I think I never saw more solid, useful matter contained in so small a compass, and yet the method and expression so clear, that the brevity occasions no obscurity. In the other you will, by alluring youth to the practice of learning, strengthen their judgment, improve and enlarge their understanding, and increase their abilities of being useful.

To produce the number of valuable men necessary in a nation for its prosperity, there is much more hope from schemes of *early institution* than from *reformation*. And, as the power of a single man to do national service, in particular situations of influence, is often immensely great, a writer can hardly conceive

the good he may be doing, when engaged in works of this kind. I cannot, therefore, but wish you would publish it as soon as your other important employments will permit you to give it the finishing hand.

With these sentiments you will not doubt my being serious in the intention of finishing my *Art of Virtue*. It is not a mere ideal work. I planned it first in 1732. I have from time to time made, and caused to be made, experiments of the method with success. The materials have been growing ever since. The form only is now to be given; in which I purpose employing my first leisure, after my return to my *other* country.

Your invitation to make another jaunt to Scotland, and offer to meet us half way *en famille*, was extremely obliging. Certainly I never spent my time anywhere more agreeably, nor have I been in any place, where the inhabitants and their conversation left such lastingly pleasing impressions on my mind, accompanied with the strongest inclination once more to visit that hospitable, friendly, and sensible people. The friendship your Lordship in particular honors me with would not, you may be assured, be among the least of my inducements. My son is in the same sentiments with me. But we doubt we cannot have that happiness, as we are to return to America early in the next spring.

I am ashamed that I have been so useless a member to your *Philosophical Society*, since they did me the honor of admitting me. But I think it will not be long before they hear from me. I should be very glad to see Dr. Cullen's paper on *Fire*. When may we expect the publication? I have, as you have heard, been dealing in *Smoke*, and I think it not difficult to manage, when one is once acquainted thoroughly with

the principles. But, as the causes are various, so must the remedies be; and one cannot prescribe to a patient at such a distance, without first having a clear state of its case. If you should ever take the trouble of sending me a description of the circumstances of your smoky chimneys, perhaps I might offer something useful towards their cure. But doubtless you have doctors equally skilful nearer home.

I sent one of your *Principles of Equity* as a present to a particular friend of mine, one of the judges of the Supreme Court in Pennsylvania, where, as there is no court of chancery, equity is often mixed with the common law in their judgments. I since received two letters from him. In the first, when he had read but part of the work, he seemed to think something wanting in it. In the next, he calls his first sentiments in question. I think I will send you the letters, though of no great importance, lest, since I have mentioned them, you should think his remarks might be of more consequence. You can return them when any friend is coming this way.

May I take the freedom of recommending the bearer, Mr. Morgan, to your Lordship's protection. He purposes residing some time in Edinburgh, to improve himself in the study of physic, and I think will one day make a good figure in the profession, and be of some credit to the school he studies in, if great industry and application, joined with natural genius and sagacity, afford any foundation for the presage. He is the son of a friend and near neighbour of mine in Philadelphia, so that I have known him from a child, and am confident the same excellent dispositions, good morals, and prudent behaviour, that have procured him the esteem and affection of all that knew him in his own country, will render him not unworthy the re-

gard, advice, and countenance your Lordship may be so good as to afford him.

My son (with whom I have lately made the tour of Holland and Flanders) joins with me in best wishes for you and Lady Kames, and your amiable children. We hope, however far we may be removed from you, to hear frequently of your welfare, and of the fortunes of your family; being with the sincerest esteem and regard, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.

Monday morning, 8 March, 1762.

DEAR POLLY,

Your good mamma has just been saying to me, that she wonders what can possibly be the reason she has not had a line from you for so long a time. I have made no complaint of that kind, being conscious, that, by not writing myself, I have forfeited all claim to such favor, though no letters give me more pleasure, and I often wish to hear from you; but indolence grows upon me with years, and writing grows more and more irksome to me.

Have you finished your course of philosophy? No more doubts to be resolved? No more questions to ask? If so, you may now be at full leisure to improve yourself in cards. Adieu, my dear child, and believe me ever your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. Respects to Mrs. Tickell, &c. Mamma bids me tell you she is lately much afflicted and half a cripple with the rheumatism. I send you two or three French *Gazettes de Médecine*, which I have just re-

ceived from Paris, wherein is a translation of the extract of a letter you copied out for me. You will return them with my French letters on Electricity, when you have perused them.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

Death of Mrs. Franklin's Mother.

London, 24 March, 1762.

MY DEAR CHILD,

I condole with you most sincerely on the death of our good mother,* being extremely sensible of the distress and affliction it must have thrown you into. Your comfort will be, that no care was wanting on your part towards her, and that she had lived as long as this life could afford her any rational enjoyment. It is, I am sure, a satisfaction to me, that I cannot charge myself with having ever failed in one instance of duty and respect to her during the many years that she called me son. The circumstances attending her death were indeed unhappy in some respects; but something must bring us all to our end, and few of us shall see her length of days. My love to brother John Read, and sister and cousin Debby, and young cousin Johnny Read, and let them all know, that I sympathize with them all affectionately.

This I write in haste, Mr. Beatty having just called on me to let me know, that he is about to set out for Portsmouth, in order to sail for America. I am finishing all business here in order for my return, which will either be in the Virginia fleet, or by the packet

* Mrs. Read, the mother of Mrs. Franklin.

of May next; I am not yet determined which. I pray God grant us a happy meeting.

We are all well, and Billy presents his duty. Mr. Strahan has received your letter, and wonders he has not been able to persuade you to come over. Mrs. Stevenson desires her compliments; she expected Sally would have answered her daughter's letter, that went with the gold needle. I have received yours by the last packet, and one from our friend Mr. Hughes. I will try to write a line to him if I have time. If not, please to tell him I will do all I can to serve him in his affair. Acquaint Mr. Charles Norris, that I send him a gardener in Bolitho's ship. The particulars of your letters I shall answer by the same ship. I can now only add, that I am, as ever, my dear Debby, your affectionate husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO DAVID HUME.*

Mode of fixing Lightning Rods. — Cause of Explosions by Lightning. — Lord Marischal. — Gold and Wisdom.

London, 19 May, 1762.

DEAR SIR,

It is no small pleasure to me to hear from you that my paper on the means of preserving buildings from damage by lightning, was acceptable to the Philosophical Society. Mr. Russel's proposals of improvement are very sensible and just. A leaden spout or pipe is undoubtedly a good conductor, so far as it goes. If the conductor enters the ground just at the

* The letter from Mr. Hume, to which this is a reply, may be seen in Vol. VI. p. 243.

foundation, and from thence is carried horizontally to some well, or to a distant rod driven downright into the earth, I would then propose, that the part under the ground should be lead, as less liable to consume with rust than iron. Because, if the conductor near the foot of the wall should be wasted, the lightning might act on the moisture of the earth, and by suddenly rarefying it occasion an explosion, that may damage the foundation. In the experiment of discharging my large case of electrical bottles through a piece of small glass tube filled with water, the suddenly rarefied water has exploded with a force equal, I think, to that of so much gunpowder; bursting the tube into many pieces, and driving them with violence in all directions and to all parts of the room. The shivering of trees into small splinters, like a broom, is probably owing to this rarefaction of the sap in the longitudinal pores, or capillary pipes, in the substance of the wood. And the blowing up of bricks or stones in a hearth, rending stones out of a foundation, and splitting of walls, are also probably effects sometimes of rarefied moisture in the earth, under the hearth, or in the walls. We should therefore have a durable conductor under ground, or convey the lightning to the earth at some distance.

It must afford Lord Marischal a good deal of diversion to preside in a dispute so ridiculous as that you mention. Judges in their decisions often use precedents. I have somewhere met with one, that is what the lawyers call a *case in point.* The Church people and the Puritans in a country town had once a bitter contention concerning the erecting of a Maypole, which the former desired and the latter opposed. Each party endeavoured to strengthen itself by obtaining the authority of the mayor, directing or for-

bidding a Maypole. He heard their altercation with great patience, and then gravely determined thus; "You, that are for having no Maypole, shall have no Maypole; and you, that are for having a Maypole, shall have a Maypole. Get about your business, and let me hear no more of this quarrel." *

Your compliment of *gold* and *wisdom* is very obliging to me, but a little injurious to your country. The various value of every thing in every part of this world arises, you know, from the various proportions of the quantity to the demand. We are told, that gold and silver in Solomon's time were so plenty, as to be of no more value in his country than the stones in the street. You have here at present just such a plenty of wisdom. Your people are, therefore, not to be censured for desiring no more among them than they have; and if I have *any*, I should certainly carry it where, from its scarcity, it may probably come to a better market.

I nevertheless regret extremely the leaving a country in which I have received so much friendship, and friends whose conversation has been so agreeable and so improving to me; and that I am henceforth to reside at so great a distance from them is no small mortification to, my dear friend, yours most affectionately, B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. My respectful compliments, if you please, to Sir Alexander Dick, Lord Kames, Mr. Alexander, Mr. Russel, and any other inquiring friends. I shall write to them before I leave the Island.

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* Lord Marischal was a person of consideration in Neufchâtel, to whom Dr. Franklin had communicated, through Mr. Hume, a paper containing directions for putting up lightning rods. See Vol. VI. p 241.

TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.

London, 7 June 1762

DEAR POLLY,

I received your favor of the 27th past, and have since expected your intended philosophical epistle. But you have not had leisure to write it!

Your good mamma is now perfectly well, as I think, excepting now and then a few rheumatic complaints, which, however, seem gradually diminishing. I am glad to hear you are about to enjoy the happiness of seeing and being with your friends at Bromley. My best respects to the good Dr. and Mrs. Hawkesworth, and say to the dear ladies, that I kiss their hands respectfully and affectionately.

Our ships for America do not sail so soon as I expected; it will be yet five or six weeks before we embark, and leave the old world for the new. I fancy I feel a little like dying saints, who, in parting with those they love in this world, are only comforted with the hope of more perfect happiness in the next. I have, in America, connexions of the most engaging kind; and, happy as I have been in the friendships here contracted, *those* promise me greater and more lasting felicity. But God only knows whether these promises shall be fulfilled. Adieu, my dear good girl, and believe me ever your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.

Portsmouth, 11 August, 1762.

MY DEAR POLLY,

This is the best paper I can get at this wretched inn, but it will convey what is intrusted to it as faithfully as the finest. It will tell my Polly how much her friend is afflicted, that he must, perhaps, never again see one for whom he has so sincere an affection, joined to so perfect an esteem; who he once flattered himself might become his own, in the tender relation of a child, but can now entertain such pleasing hopes no more. Will it tell *how much* he is afflicted? No, it cannot.

Adieu, my dearest child. I will call you so. Why should I not call you so, since I love you with all the tenderness of a father? Adieu. May the God of all goodness shower down his choicest blessings upon you, and make you infinitely happier, than that event would have made you. And, wherever I am, believe me to be, with unalterable affection, my dear Polly, your sincere friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO LORD KAMES.

Farewell on leaving England. — Favorable Notice of his "Elements of Criticism."

Portsmouth, 17 August, 1762.

MY DEAR LORD,

I am now waiting here only for a wind to waft me to America, but cannot leave this happy island and my friends in it, without extreme regret, though I am going to a country and a people that I love. I am

going from the old world to the new; and I fancy I feel like those, who are leaving this world for the next; grief at the parting; fear of the passage; hope of the future. These different passions all affect their minds at once; and these have *tendered* me down exceedingly. It is usual for the dying to beg forgiveness of their surviving friends, if they have ever offended them.

Can you, my Lord, forgive my long silence, and my not acknowledging till now the favor you did me in sending me your excellent book? Can you make some allowance for a fault in others, which you have never experienced in yourself; for the bad habit of postponing from day to day, what one every day resolves to do to-morrow? A habit that grows upon us with years, and whose only excuse is we know not how to mend it. If you are disposed to favor me, you will also consider how much one's mind is taken up and distracted by the many little affairs one has to settle before the undertaking such a voyage, after so long a residence in a country; and how little, in such a situation, one's mind is fitted for serious and attentive reading; which, with regard to the *Elements of Criticism*, I intended before I should write. I can now only confess and endeavour to amend. In packing up my books, I have reserved yours to read on the passage. I hope I shall therefore be able to write to you upon it soon after my arrival. At present I can only return my thanks, and say that the parts I have read gave me both pleasure and instruction; that I am convinced of your position, new as it was to me, that a good taste in the arts contributes to the improvement of morals; and that I have had the satisfaction of hearing the work universally commended by those who have read it.

And now, my dear Sir, accept my sincere thanks for the kindness you have shown me, and my best wishes of happiness to you and yours. Wherever I am, I shall esteem the friendship you honor me with as one of the felicities of my life; I shall endeavour to cultivate it by a more punctual correspondence; and I hope frequently to hear of your welfare and prosperity. Adieu, my dear friend, and believe me ever most affectionately yours,

B. FRANKLIN.*

TO MR. WHITEFORD.

William Franklin appointed Governor of New Jersey. — The Taking of Havana. — Painting and Poetry in America. — British Lyre.

Philadelphia, 7 December, 1762.

DEAR SIR,

I thank you for your kind congratulations on my son's promotion and marriage. If he makes a good governor and husband, (as I hope he will, for I know he has good principles and a good disposition,) these events will both of them give me continual pleasure.†

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* Dr. Franklin sailed for America immediately after writing this letter. He had been in England five years, having arrived there in July, 1757. For a vote of thanks by the Assembly of Pennsylvania for his services while in England, see Vol. IV. p. 154.

† William Franklin was appointed governor of New Jersey about the time that his father left England. The place was conferred by Lord Bute; and it is supposed, that Sir John Pringle's influence had much weight, he being physician to Lord Bute, and also a very warm friend to Dr. Franklin. The Proprietors of Pennsylvania, it would seem, entertained favorable hopes from this appointment. Thomas Penn, in a letter to Governor Hamilton, dated February 11th, 1763, said, "I am told you will find Mr. Franklin more tractable, and I be-

The taking of the Havana, on which I congratulate you, is a conquest of the greatest importance, and will doubtless contribute a due share of weight in procuring us reasonable terms of peace. It has been, however, the dearest conquest, by far, that we have made this war, when we consider the terrible havoc made by sickness in that brave army of veterans, now almost totally ruined. I thank you for the humorous and sensible print you sent me, which afforded me and several of my friends great pleasure. The piece from your own pencil is acknowledged to bear a strong and striking likeness, but it is otherwise such a picture of your friend, as Dr. S—— would have drawn, *black, and all black.* I think you will hardly understand this remark, but your neighbour Mrs. Stevenson can explain it. Painting has scarce made her appearance among us; but her sister art, poetry, has some votaries. I send you a few blossoms of American verse, the lispings of our young Muses; which I hope your motherly critics will treat with some indulgence.

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lieve we shall, in matters of prerogative; as his son must obey instructions, and what he is ordered to do, the father cannot well oppose in Pennsylvania. I think you judged very right in giving Franklin a civil reception." This expectation, however, was not realized. The father continued as untractable as he had been, and, by adhering to the interests of the Assembly and the people, was brought into constant collision with the proprietary party.

Although the Proprietors watched Franklin with a jealous eye while he was in England, and, from the nature of his mission, would naturally be disposed to suspect his motives and find fault with his conduct, yet they acquitted him of having been engaged in any improper practices to injure their cause. "I do not find," said Thomas Penn, in another letter to Governor Hamilton, "that he has done me any prejudice with any party, having had conversations with all, in which I have studied to talk of these affairs; and I believe he has spent most of his time philosophical, and especially in electrical matters, having generally company in a morning to see those experiments, and musical performances on glasses, where any one that knows him carries his friends."—*April 13th*, 1761.

I shall never touch the sweet strings of the British lyre, without remembering my British friends, and particularly the kind giver of the instrument, who has my best wishes of happiness for himself and for his wife and his children, when it pleases God to send him any. I am, dear Sir, with the sincerest esteem, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. CATHERINE GREENE.*

Philadelphia, 23 January, 1763.

I received with great pleasure my dear friend's favor of December 20th, as it informed me that you and yours are all well. Mrs. Franklin admits of your apology for dropping the correspondence with her, and allows your reasons to be good; but hopes, when you have more leisure, it may be resumed. She joins with me in congratulating you on your present happy situation. I thank you for your kind invitation. I purpose a journey into New England in the spring or summer coming. I shall not fail to pay my respects to you and Mr. Greene, when I come your way. Please to make my compliments acceptable to him.

I have had a most agreeable time of it in Europe. I have, in company with my son, been in most parts of England, Scotland, Flanders, and Holland; and generally have enjoyed a good share of health. If you had asked the rest of your questions, I could more easily have made this letter longer. Let me have them in your next. I think I am not much altered; at least my esteem and regard for my Katy (if I may

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* Formerly Miss Catherine Ray, now married to Mr. William Greene, who was afterwards governor of Rhode Island.

still be permitted to call her so) is the same, and I believe will be unalterable, whilst I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. My best respects to your good brother and sister Ward. My daughter presents her compliments. My son is not yet arrived.

TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.

Arrival in America.—Recollection of his Friends in England.

Philadelphia, 25 March, 1763.

MY DEAR POLLY,

Your pleasing favor of November 11th is now before me. It found me, as you supposed it would, happy with my American friends and family about me; and it made me more happy in showing me, that I am not yet forgotten by the dear friends I left in England. And, indeed, why should I fear they will ever forget me, when I feel so strongly that I shall ever remember them?

I sympathize with you sincerely in your grief at the separation from your old friend, Miss Pitt. The reflection that she is going to be more happy, when she leaves you, might comfort you, if the case were likely to be so circumstanced; but, when the country and company she has been educated in, and those she is removing to, are compared, one cannot possibly expect it. I sympathize no less with you in your joys. But it is not merely on your account, that I rejoice at the recovery of your dear Dolly's* health.

* Miss Dorothea Blount.

I love that dear good girl myself, and I love her other friends. I am, therefore, made happy by what must contribute so much to the happiness of them all. Remember me to her, and to every one of that worthy and amiable family, most affectionately.

Remember me in the same manner to your and my good Dr. and Mrs. Hawkesworth. You have lately, you tell me, had the pleasure of spending three days with them at Mrs. Stanley's. It was a sweet society. I, too, once partook of that same pleasure, and can therefore feel what you must have felt. Remember me also to Mr. and Mrs. Stanley, and to Miss Arlond.

Of all the enviable things England has, I envy it most its people. Why should that petty Island, which, compared to America, is but like a stepping-stone in a brook, scarce enough of it above water to keep one's shoes dry; why, I say, should that little Island enjoy, in almost every neighbourhood, more sensible, virtuous, and elegant minds, than we can collect in ranging a hundred leagues of our vast forests? But it is said the Arts delight to travel westward. You have effectually defended us in this glorious war, and in time you will improve us. After the first cares for the necessaries of life are over, we shall come to think of the embellishments. Already, some of our young geniuses begin to lisp attempts at painting, poetry, and music. We have a young painter now studying at Rome. Some specimens of our poetry I send you, which, if Dr. Hawkesworth's fine taste cannot approve, his good heart will at least excuse. The manuscript piece is by a young friend of mine, and was occasioned by the loss of one of his friends, who lately made a voyage to Antigua to settle some affairs, previous to an intended marriage with an amiable young lady here, but unfortunately died there. I

send it to you, because the author is a great admirer of Mr. Stanley's musical compositions, and has adapted this piece to an air in the sixth *Concerto* of that gentleman, the sweetly solemn movement of which he is quite in raptures with. He has attempted to compose a *recitativo* for it, but, not being able to satisfy himself in the bass, wishes I could get it supplied. If Mr. Stanley would condescend to do that for him, he would esteem it as one of the highest honors, and it would make him excessively happy. You will say that a *recitativo* can be but a poor specimen of our music. It is the best and all I have at present, but you may see better hereafter.

I hope Mr. Ralph's affairs are mended since you wrote. I know he had some expectations, when I came away, from a hand that would help him. He has merit, and one would think ought not to be so unfortunate.

I do not wonder at the behaviour you mention of Dr. S—— towards me, for I have long since known him thoroughly. I made that man my enemy by doing him too much kindness. It is the honestest way of acquiring an enemy. And, since it is convenient to have at least one enemy, who, by his readiness to revile one on all occasions, may make one careful of one's conduct, I shall keep him an enemy for that purpose; and shall observe your good mother's advice, never again to receive him as a friend. She once admired the benevolent spirit breathed in his sermons. She will now see the justness of the lines your laureate Whitehead addressed to his poets, and which I now address to her.

> "Full many a peevish, envious, slanderous elf
> Is, in his works, benevolence itself.
> For all mankind, unknown, his bosom heaves;
> He only injures those, with whom he lives

Read, then, the man;—does *truth* his actions guide,
Exempt from *petulance*, exempt from *pride*?
To social duties does his heart attend,
As son, as father, husband, brother, *friend*?
Do those, who know him, love him? If they do,
You've *my* permission, you may love him too"

Nothing can please me more, than to see your philosophical improvements, when you have leisure to communicate them to me. I still owe you a long letter on that subject, which I shall pay. I am vexed with Mr. James, that he has been so dilatory in Mr. Madison's *Armonica*. I was unlucky in both the workmen, that I permitted to undertake making those instruments. The first was fanciful, and never could work to the purpose, because he was ever conceiving some new improvement, that answered no end. The other I doubt is absolutely idle. I have recommended a number to him from hence, but must stop my hand.

Adieu, my dear Polly, and believe me, as ever, with the sincerest esteem and regard, your truly affectionate friend and humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

P S. My love to Mrs. Tickell and Mrs. Rooke, and to Pitty, when you write to her. Mrs. Franklin and Sally desire to be affectionately remembered to you. I find the printed poetry I intended to enclose will be too bulky to send. I shall send it by a ship, that goes shortly from hence.

FROM RICHARD JACKSON TO B. FRANKLIN.

Congratulation on his Arrival in America. — Pennsylvania Affairs.

London, 4 April, 1763.

DEAR SIR,

I received your favors by the packet, as well as those by the *Carolina*. I had before the pleasure to hear of your safe arrival from Mr. Strahan, which was the more acceptable, because the time that had elapsed since your sailing was rather too long, and gave your friends room for apprehensions. I have before wished you joy on Mr. Franklin's promotion. I doubt not it will give as much pleasure to the Province of New Jersey, as to him and your friends. I saw him a day or two before he left London, and acquainted him with my situation, as to a seat in Parliament. I was then pretty secure; but I shall never be sanguine again as long as I live, though I was not disappointed on this occasion. In fact I was chosen for Wymouth the week in which the Parliament met in November, and have made as prudent a use of my seat since that time as I have been able. A seat in Parliament, in this kingdom, is, you know, usually built on negotiation, and those negotiations, in the course of which I met with some traverses, took up most of my last summer, so that I could complete but the skeleton of my work. I think, however, the most difficult part is finished; perhaps I might have said so, if I had only begun it. I shall certainly complete it this summer, though I do not mean to publish it as complete as I make it. It will be necessary that it should not be too long.

The Speaker has frequently inquired after you in

a very particular manner. He did so when I dined with him yesterday, expressing great pleasure in knowing of your safe arrival, and insisted on my remembering to send his compliments. I think I collect from Mr. Charles, who you see is now comptroller at the post-office, that his discontent conceived against the Assembly of Pennsylvania was upon their refusal to abide by his and your opinion at the Council, upon the Supply Bill.* I met Mr. Penn yesterday, who was very civil to me. Though nothing could give me more pleasure than to hear of your safe arrival and health, I had less pleasure in hearing of the joy universally expressed at Philadelphia on the occasion. In truth, this was nothing but what I well knew before

* The legislation of Pennsylvania was, at this period, subject to extraordinary embarrassments. In the first place, the Proprietors, Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, possessed the same rights and property in the province, that had belonged to their father, William Penn; but they resided in England, and governed the province by a deputy, whom they bound by inflexible instructions, from which he had no discretion to deviate. It was necessary, that all bills passed by the Assembly, before they could become laws, should be approved by the governor. It was further necessary, that these laws should then be sent over to England, examined by the Board of Trade, reported to the King's Council, and at last receive the royal sanction. Notwithstanding the instructions of the Proprietors to their deputy-governor, laws would sometimes receive his signature, which they did not approve; and, in such cases, when the laws came before the Board of Trade and the Council, they would use their interest to defeat them and procure their repeal. In 1760, seven laws were sent over, which the Proprietors disliked, and opposed before the Board. They succeeded in obtaining the repeal of six of them. The seventh, being an act for raising one hundred thousand pounds for the public service, chiefly to aid in carrying on the war, though it was declared objectionable, was nevertheless allowed to stand, against the wish of the Proprietors, in consideration of engagements entered into at the time by Dr. Franklin and Mr. Charles, agents for the province, that the Assembly should remove certain objections by a supplementary act.

The objections will be understood by a brief recital of the proposed amendments; namely, "That all money raised shall be disposed of by the joint consent of the governor and Assembly; that it shall be clear

would be the case, notwithstanding Dr. Smith's opinion or intelligence.

I was the better pleased with your account of Madeira, because the day I received your letter was the second of our sitting on a committee to inquire into its state, in order, with other facts, to lay a foundation for extending thither the indulgence already given to rice in Europe south of Cape Finisterre.

I had from Mr. Moore, the clerk of Assembly, through the hands of Messrs. Sergeant and Aufren, a manifest of forces employed by your province in 1760 and 1761. It came not to me till some months after it reached London, being misdirected, yet soon enough; because I fear it will be of no use, as the Lords of

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ly expressed and declared, that the waste lands belonging to the Proprietors shall not be taxed; that the located unimproved land belonging to the Proprietors shall be rated at the lowest that any other man's is rated; that lands ungranted in and about towns, belonging to the Proprietors, shall be taxed at the rate of other located unimproved land; that the Proprietors' rents shall be paid them in the value of sterling money, as if no paper money was issued; that a number of commissioners shall be named in the bill to sit in Philadelphia to hear appeals from the several counties" The Assembly never fulfilled the engagement of their agents. They appointed commissioners to examine the operation of the act, in regard to the taxing of various kinds of lands, who reported, that the Proprietors stood precisely on the same footing as other owners of land; and that the law was perfectly equal and just in its effects. As to paying the Proprietors' rents in sterling money, when all other persons were obliged to be contented with a paper currency of less value, it was thought inequitable, especially as the laws authorizing this currency had been approved by the Proprietors, and as there was no good reason why their property should be exempted from the necessary consequences of these laws. The agents assented to the engagement as the only mode of saving the act, which was of the utmost importance to the public service at that time, and they were never censured for the part they took, although the Assembly refused to ratify what they did. The governor brought the subject often before the Assembly, and sometimes in long messages, to which they replied. The arguments on both sides are contained in the printed *Votes and Proceedings of the Assembly* for the year 1761, and particularly under the dates of February 14th, and March 14th.

the Treasury have resolved not to depart from the general's returns, who has allowed the province thirteen hundred and fifty men in 1760, but none in the last year. I know not the reason for this, unless he is pleased to suppose that the nine hundred and sixty-five men employed in 1761 were for the provincial defence only; yet they were under his command. Perhaps it is a mistake. I shall write by the packet to Mr. Moore; and, as the money will not be probably distributed for a great while, there will be time for the general, upon application made to him, to set things right. I am, &c.

RICHARD JACKSON.

TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS.*

Philadelphia, 13 April, 1763.

LOVING KINSMAN,

You may remember, that about ten years since, when I was at Boston, you and my brother sent directions here to attach on Grant's right to some land here, by virtue of a mortgage given him by one Pitt. Nothing effectual could be done in it at that time, there being a prior mortgage undischarged. That prior mortgage is now near expiring, and Grant's will take place. Pitt's widow is desirous of being enabled to sell the place, which cannot be done, without paying off Grant's mortgage. Therefore, if your old demand

* Jonathan Williams resided at Boston. He married a niece of Dr. Franklin's, by the name of Grace Harris, and was the father of Jonathan Williams, who acted as a commercial agent for the United States in France during a large part of the revolution, and whose name often occurs in the course of this correspondence. The father died at his son's residence, near Philadelphia, on the 17th of September, 1796; and the son, after filling important stations as a colonel of engineers, and superintendent of the Military Academy at West Point, died May 20th, 1815.

against Grant still subsists, you may empower me in any manner you think proper to recover it.

Is Grant living? Or, if dead, are there any of his representatives among you? Inquire. Because here is a person desirous of purchasing, who, perhaps, may inquire them out, and get a discharge from them, before your claim is brought forward, unless the attachment formerly made in your behalf is still good, which I am inclined to think may be.

I am going in a few days to Virginia, but expect to be back in three or four weeks. However, send what you have to say on this subject to my son, at Burlington, who was formerly empowered by you, and he will take the steps necessary, if I should not be returned. I am your loving uncle,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.

Woodbridge, New Jersey, 10 June, 1763.

I wrote to my dear friend's good mamma to-day, and said I should hardly have time to write to you; but, finding a spare half hour, I will indulge myself in the pleasure of spending it with you. I have just received your most agreeable epistle of March 11th. The ease, the smoothness, the purity of diction, and delicacy of sentiment, that always appear in your letters, never fail to delight me; but the tender filial regard you constantly express for your old friend is particularly engaging. Continue, then, to make him happy from time to time with that sweet intercourse; and take, in return, all he can give you, his sincerest wishes for you of every kind of felicity.

I hope, that, by the time this reaches you, an account will arrive of your dear Pitty's safe landing in

America among her friends. Your Dolly, too, I hope, has perfectly recovered her health, and then nothing will remain to give you uneasiness or anxiety. Heaven bless you, and believe me ever, my dear child, your affectionate friend and humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

New York, 16 June, 1763.

MY DEAR CHILD,

We left Woodbridge on Tuesday morning, and went to Elizabethtown, where I found our children returned from the Falls, and very well. The Corporation were to have a dinner that day at the Point for their entertainment, and prevailed on us to stay. There were all the principal people, and a great many ladies. After dinner we set out, and got here before dark. We waited on the governor and on General Amherst yesterday; dined with Lord Stirling; went in the evening to my old friend Mr. Kennedy's funeral; and are to dine with the general to-day. Mr. Hughes and daughter are well, and Betsey Holt. I have not yet seen B. Mecom, but shall to-day. I am very well.

I purpose to take Sally at all events, and write for her to-day to be ready to go in the packet that sails next Friday week. If there is no other suitable company, Mr. Parker will go with her and take care of her. I am glad you sent some wax candles with the things to Boston. I am now so used to them, that I cannot well do without them. You spent your Sunday very well, but I think you should go oftener to church. I approve of your opening all my English letters, as it must give you pleasure to see, that people, who knew me there so long and so intimately, retain so sincere a regard for me.

My love to Mr. Rhoads when you see him, and desire he would send me an invoice of such locks, hinges, and the like, as cannot be had at Philadelphia, and will be necessary for my house, that I may send for them. Let me know from time to time how it goes on. Mr. Foxcroft and Mr. Parker join in compliments to you and cousin Lizzy. Mr. F—— prays his mamma to forgive him, and he will be a better boy. I am, my dear Debby, your affectionate husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO WILLIAM GREENE, WARWIC, RHODE ISLAND.

Providence, 19 July, 1763.

DEAR SIR,

From the very hospitable and kind treatment we met with at your house, I must think it will be agreeable to you to hear, that your guests got well in before the rain. We hope that you and Mrs. Greene were likewise safe at home before night, and found all well. We all join in the most cordial thanks and best wishes, and shall be glad on every occasion to hear of the welfare of you and yours. I beg you will present our compliments to your good neighbour, Captain Fry, and tell him we shall always retain a grateful remembrance of his civilities.

The soreness in my breast seems to diminish hourly. To rest and temperance I ascribe it chiefly, though the bleeding had doubtless some share in the effect. We purpose setting out to go to Wrentham this afternoon, in order to make an easy day's journey into Boston to-morrow. Present our respects to Mrs. Ray, and believe me, with much esteem, dear Sir, your obliged and most obedient, humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. CATHERINE GREENE.

Boston, 1 August, 1763

DEAR FRIEND,

I ought to acquaint you, that I feel myself growing daily firmer and freer from the effects of my fall, and hope a few days more will make me quite forget it. I shall, however, never forget the kindness I met with at your house on that occasion.

Make my compliments acceptable to your Mr. Greene, and let him know, that I acknowledge the receipt of his obliging letter, and thank him for it. It gave me great pleasure to hear you got home before the rain. My compliments, too, to Mr. Merchant and Miss Ward, if they are still with you; and kiss the ladies for me. Sally says, "And for me too." She adds her best respects to Mr. Greene and you, and that she could have spent a week with you with great pleasure, if I had not hurried her away.

My brother is returned to Rhode Island. Sister Mecom thanks you for your kind remembrance of her, and presents her respects. With perfect esteem and regard I am, dear Katy (I can't yet alter my style to "Madam"), your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. CATHERINE GREENE.

Boston, 5 September, 1763.

DEAR FRIEND,

On my returning hither from Portsmouth, I find your obliging favor of the 18th past, for which I thank you. I am almost ashamed to tell you, that I have had another fall, and put my shoulder out. It

is well reduced again, but is still affected with constant, though not very acute pain. I am not yet able to travel rough roads, and must lie by awhile, as I can neither hold reins nor whip with my right hand till it grows stronger.

Do you think, after this, that even your kindest invitations and Mr. Greene's can prevail with me to venture myself again on such roads? And yet it would be a great pleasure to me to see you and yours once more. Sally and my sister Mecom thank you for your remembrance of them, and present their affectionate regards. My best respects to good Mr. Greene, Mrs. Ray, and love to your little ones. I am glad to hear they are well, and that your Celia goes alone. I am, dear friend, yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.*

TO MRS. CATHERINE GREENE.

Philadelphia, 15 February, 1764.

DEAR FRIEND,

I have before me your most acceptable favor of December 24th. Public business and our public confusions have so taken up my attention, that I suspect I did not answer it when I received it, but am really

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* He returned to Philadelphia, with his daughter, from this tour to New England, on the 5th of November. Soon afterwards he wrote to his sister; "I find myself at present quite clear from pain, and so have at length left off the cold bath. There is, however, still some weakness in my shoulder, though much stronger than when I left Boston, and mending. I am otherwise very happy in being at home, where I am allowed to know when I have eat enough and drunk enough, am warm enough, and sit in a place that I like, &c., and nobody pretends to know what I feel better than I do myself. Don't imagine that I am a whit the less sensible of the kindness I experienced among my friends in New England. I am very thankful for it, and shall always retain a grateful remembrance of it."

not certain; so, to make sure, I write this line to acknowledge the receiving of it, and to thank you for it. I condole with you on the death of the good old lady, your mother. Separations of this kind from those we love are grievous; but it is the will of God, that such should be the nature of things in this world. All that ever were born are either dead, or must die. It becomes us to submit, and to comfort ourselves with the hope of a better life and more happy meeting hereafter.

Sally kept to her horse the greatest part of the journey, and was much pleased with the tour. She often remembers, with pleasure and gratitude, the kindnesses she met with, and received from our friends everywhere, and particularly at your house. She talks of writing by this post; and my dame sends her love to you, and thanks for the care you took of her old man, but, having bad spectacles, cannot write at present.

Mr. Kent's compliment is a very extraordinary one, as he was obliged to kill himself and two others in order to make it; but, being killed in imagination only, they and he are all yet alive and well, thanks to God, and I hope will continue so as long as, dear Katy, your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. My best respects to Mr. Greene, and love to "the little dear creatures." I believe the instructions relating to the post-office have been sent to Mr. Rufus Greene.

TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.

Philadelphia, 14 March, 1764.

DEAR POLLY,

I have received your kind letters of August 30th and November 16th. Please to return my thanks, with those of my friend, to Mr. Stanley for his favor in the music, which gives great satisfaction. I am glad to hear of the welfare of the Blount family, and the addition it has lately received; and particularly that your Dolly's health is mended. Present my best respects to them, and to the good Dr. and Mrs. Hawkesworth, when you see them.

I believe you were right in dissuading your good mother from coming hither. The proposal was a hasty thought of mine, in which I considered only some profit she might make by the adventure, and the pleasure to me and my family from the visit; but forgot poor Polly, and what her feelings must be on the occasion, and perhaps did not sufficiently reflect, that the inconveniences of such a voyage, to a person of her years and sex, must be more than the advantages could compensate.

I am sincerely concerned to hear of Mrs. Rooke's long-continued affliction with that cruel gout. My best wishes attend her and good Mrs. Tickell. Let me hear from you as often as you can afford it. You can scarce conceive the pleasure your letters give me. Blessings on his soul, that first invented writing, without which, I should, at this distance, be as effectually cut off from my friends in England, as the dead are from the living. But I write so little, that I can have no claim to much from you. Business, public and private, devours all my time. I must return to England for repose. With such thoughts I flatter myself,

and need some kind friend to put me often in mind, that old trees cannot safely be transplanted.

Adieu, my amiable friend, and believe me ever yours most affectionately, B. FRANKLIN.

TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS.

Philadelphia, 24 May, 1764.

DEAR KINSMAN,

The bearer is the Reverend Mr. Rothenbuler, minister of a new Calvinist German Church lately erected in this city. The congregation is but poor at present, being many of them new comers, and (like other builders) deceived in their previous calculations, they have distressed themselves by the expense of their building; but, as they are an industrious, sober people, they will be able in time to afford that assistance to others, which they now humbly crave for themselves.

His business in Boston is, to petition the generous and charitable among his Presbyterian brethren for their kind benefactions. As he will be a stranger in New England, and I know you are ready to do every good work, I take the freedom to recommend him and his business to you for your friendly advice and countenance. The civilities you show him shall be acknowledged as done to your affectionate uncle,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

Confidence in the Divine Goodness.

Philadelphia, 19 June, 1764.

DEAR FRIEND,

I received your favors of the 21st past, and of the 3d instant, and immediately sent the enclosed as directed.

Your frequently repeated wishes for my eternal, as well as my temporal happiness, are very obliging, and I can only thank you for them and offer you mine in return. I have myself no doubt, that I shall enjoy as much of both as is proper for me. That Being, who gave me existence, and through almost threescore years has been continually showering his favors upon me, whose very chastisements have been blessings to me; can I doubt that he loves me? And, if he loves me, can I doubt that he will go on to take care of me, not only here but hereafter? This to some may seem presumption; to me it appears the best grounded hope; hope of the future built on experience of the past.

By the accounts I have of your late labors, I conclude your health is mended by your journey, which gives me pleasure. Mrs. Franklin presents her cordial respects, with, dear Sir, your affectionate humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. We hope you will not be deterred from visiting your friends here, by the bugbear Boston account of the unhealthiness of Philadelphia.

FROM HENRY BOUQUET TO B. FRANKLIN.

Services rendered by Franklin in forwarding the Operations of the late War.

Fort Loudoun, 22 August, 1764.

DEAR SIR,

I received yesterday your obliging letter of the 16th instant, with the welcome account, that my request to the governor and commissioners (to enable me to recruit the number of men wanted to replace the deserters of the Pennsylvania troops) was granted. An application of this nature being unusual, I doubted of its success, and nothing but the necessity of completing those two battalions, would have induced me to make an attempt liable to so many objections from the known economy of the Board of Commissioners in the disposal of public money. My dependence was as usual upon you; and indeed, had you not supported my request in the warmest manner, it must have miscarried, and left me exposed to many inconveniences.

Your conduct on this occasion does not surprise me, as I have not alone experienced the favorable effects of your readiness to promote the service. I know that General Shirley owed to you the considerable supply of provisions this government voted for his troops, besides warm clothing; that you alone could and did procure for General Braddock the carriages, without which he could not have proceeded on his expedition; that you had a road opened through this province to supply more easily his army with provisions, and spent a summer in those different services without any other reward, than the satisfaction of serving the public. And I am not unacquainted with the share

you had in carrying safely through the House, at a very difficult time, the bill for £60,000 during Lord Loudoun's command. But, without recapitulating instances in which I was not directly concerned, I remember gratefully, that as early as 1756, when I was sent by Lord Loudoun to obtain quarters in Philadelphia for the first battalion of the Royal American Regiment, I could not have surmounted the difficulties made by your people, who, at that time unacquainted with the quartering of troops, expressed the greatest reluctance to comply with my request, till you were so good as to take the affair in hand, and obtain all that was desired.

I have not been less obliged to you in the execution of the present act, having been an eyewitness of your forwardness to carry at the Board, as a commissioner, every measure I proposed for the success of this expedition. This acknowledgment being the only return I can make, for the repeated services I have received from you in my public station, I beg you will excuse my prolixity upon a subject so agreeable to myself, as the expression of my gratitude. I am, with great regard, &c.

HENRY BOUQUET.*

* Colonel Bouquet was an enterprising British officer, who had acted a conspicuous part in the late French and Indian wars. He was on terms of intimate friendship with Colonel Washington, and they were together in the expedition against Fort Duquesne under General Forbes, in the year 1758. Colonel Bouquet likewise distinguished himself in a successful battle with the Indians, August 5th and 6th, 1763, near the head of Turtle Creek, while on his march to the Ohio River.

FROM A COMMITTEE OF RHODE ISLAND TO B. FRANKLIN.*

Proceedings of the Rhode Island Assembly for opposing the Design of Parliament to tax the Colonies.

Rhode Island, 8 October, 1764.

SIR,

We have been appointed a committee by the General Assembly of the colony of Rhode Island to correspond, confer, and consult with any committee or committees that are or shall be appointed by any of the British colonies on the continent, and, in concert with them, to prepare and form such representations of the condition of the colonies, the rights of the inhabitants, and the interests of Great Britain, as connected with them, as may be most likely to be effectual to remove or alleviate the burdens which the colonists at present labor under, and to prevent new ones being added.

The impositions already laid on the trade of these colonies must have very fatal consequences. The act in embryo, for establishing stamp duties, if effected, will further drain the people, and strongly point out their servitude. And the resolution of the House of Commons, that they have a right to tax the colonies, if carried into execution, will leave us nothing to call our own. How far the united endeavours of all the colonies might tend to prevent those evils, cannot be determined; but certain it is worth their while to try

* This letter was directed to Franklin as Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly, although he had ceased to act in that capacity when it was received. The letter itself is remarkable for the sentiments it contains, and as showing, that, on this occasion, the same system of *Committees of Correspondence* for uniting the colonies in a common cause was suggested by Rhode Island, which was afterwards adopted with so much success at the beginning of the revolution.

every means in their power, to preserve every thing they have worth preserving.

Zealous to do all we can in a business of so much importance, more especially as the colony that employs us seems heartily disposed to exert its utmost efforts to preserve its privileges inviolate, looking on this as the critical conjuncture when they must be effectually defended, or finally lost; we have given you the trouble of this address, desiring to be informed whether your colony has taken these matters under consideration; and, if it has, what methods have been thought of as most conducive to bring them to a happy issue.

If all the colonies were disposed to enter with spirit into the defence of their liberties; if some method could be hit upon for collecting the sentiments of each colony, and for uniting and forming the substance of them all into one common defence of the whole; and this sent to England, and the several agents directed to join together in pushing and pursuing it there, in the properest and most effectual manner, it might be the most probable method to produce the end aimed at.

However, as we do not pretend to prescribe rules, but to receive information, we hope to be excused for this freedom, and that the cause we are concerned in, and your candor, will procure us your pardon for this trouble, given by, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servants,

STEPHEN HOPKINS,
DANIEL JENKES,
NICHOLAS BROWN.

TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS.

Second Mission to England.

Philadelphia, 3 November, 1764.

LOVING KINSMAN,

The case of the Armonica came home to-night, and the spindle, with all the rest of the work, seems well done. But, on further consideration, I think it is not worth while to take one of them to London, to be filled with glasses as we intended. It will be better to send you one complete from thence, made under my direction; which I will take care shall be good. The glasses here will serve for these cases when I come back, if it please God that I live to return, and some friends will be glad of them.

Enclosed I send you that impostor's letter. Perhaps he may be found by his handwriting.

We sail on Wednesday. The merchants here in two hours subscribed eleven hundred pounds to be lent the public for the charges of my voyage, &c. I shall take with me but a part of it, five hundred pounds sterling. Any sum is to be had, that I may want. My love to all. Adieu. Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.*

* Dr. Franklin was appointed to this second mission to England by the Assembly of Pennsylvania, October 26th, 1764, and he was instructed to depart with all convenient despatch. As the Assembly had not then in the treasury any money, that could be appropriated for this purpose, they passed a resolve, "that the expense attending his voyage, and the execution of the trust reposed in him, should be provided for in the next bill prepared by the House for raising money to defray the public debts." On the strength of this pledge, the money was loaned by the merchants, although a party had made a considerable opposition to the appointment of an agent, who was known to be hostile to the Proprietaries, and had been active in promoting petitions for a change of the Pennsylvania government.

Dr. William Smith, the provost of the Philadelphia College, after

TO SARAH FRANKLIN.

Paternal Advice. — Devotion and Attendance at Church. — On the Eve of sailing for England.

Reedy Island, 7 at night, 8 November, 1764.

MY DEAR SALLY,

We got down here at sunset, having taken in more live stock at Newcastle, with some other things we wanted. Our good friends, Mr. Galloway, Mr. Wharton, and Mr. James, came with me in the ship from Chester to Newcastle and went ashore there. It was kind to favor me with their good company as far as they could. The affectionate leave taken of me by so many friends at Chester was very endearing. God bless them and all Pennsylvania.

My dear child, the natural prudence and goodness of heart God has blest you with make it less necessary for me to be particular in giving you advice. I shall therefore only say, that the more attentively dutiful and tender you are towards your good mamma, the more you will recommend yourself to me. But why should I mention *me*, when you have so much higher a promise in the commandments, that such conduct will recommend you to the favor of God. You know I have many enemies, all indeed on the public account, (for I cannot recollect that I have in a private capacity given just cause of offence to any one

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wards wrote, "that, under whatsoever circumstances this second embassy was undertaken, it appears to have been a measure preördained in the counsels of Heaven; and it will be for ever remembered to the honor of Pennsylvania, that the agent selected to assert and defend the rights of a single province, at the court of Great Britain, became the bold asserter of the rights of America in general, and, beholding the fetters that were forging for her, conceived the magnanimous thought of rending them asunder before they could be riveted."

whatever,) yet they are enemies, and very bitter ones; and you must expect their enmity will extend in some degree to you, so that your slightest indiscretions will be magnified into crimes, in order the more sensibly to wound and afflict me. It is therefore the more necessary for you to be extremely circumspect in all your behaviour, that no advantage may be given to their malevolence.*

* The violence of party in Pennsylvania at this time was carried to its highest extreme. An ample account of the merits of the controversy, which agitated the public mind, may be found in the author's tract, entitled "*Cool Thoughts*," and also in his "*Preface to Galloway's Speech*," and "*Remarks on a late Protest*," contained in the fourth volume of this work. As a leader of one of the parties, Franklin was made to bear the full weight of the displeasure and acrimonious censure of the other party. At a recent election of members of Assembly in Philadelphia, the Proprietary party had triumphed, and Franklin lost his election, after having been annually chosen fourteen years. But in the counties the popular party prevailed, so that in the Assembly there was a large majority of Franklin's friends. It being decided to petition the King for a change of government, he was fixed upon as the agent to transact the business in England. The debates on the occasion were conducted with much warmth of temper and pointed invective. The following extract from a speech of John Dickinson, which is transcribed from a manuscript copy, will serve as a sample.

"Another reason," said he, "why I must oppose that gentleman's being appointed our agent, is, that no measure this House can pursue will be so likely to inflame the resentments, increase the divisions, and imbitter the discontents, of the people we represent. Some gentlemen have amused themselves with making curious calculations to show, that near one half of the freeholders in this province think very favorably of the conduct of the person proposed; but, without troubling this House with vain conclusions drawn from loose suppositions, I appeal to the heart of every member for the truth of this assertion, that no man in Pennsylvania is at this time so much the object of the public dislike, as he that has been mentioned. To what a surprising height this dislike is carried among vast numbers I do not choose to repeat. The well known fact sufficiently supports the present objection against him. Though but a few hours have elapsed since he was first proposed as an agent in this House, yet already we see remonstrances against his appointment from several hundreds of our most reputable constituents laid on the table, and we are afraid, that, if a little time was allowed, thousands would crowd to present the like testimony against him.

"Why then should a majority of this House single out from the

Go constantly to church, whoever preaches. The act of devotion in the Common Prayer Book is your principal business there, and if properly attended to,

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whole world the man most obnoxious to his country, to represent his country, though he was at the last election turned out of the Assembly where he had sat for fourteen years? Why should they exert their power in the most disgusting manner, and throw pain, terror, and displeasure into the breasts of their fellow-citizens? Excusable indeed would be their choice, if all wisdom and all virtue were lodged in his head and heart. But it is not pretended that there are not many men in Great Britain qualified and willing to defend the interests of Pennsylvania. Unhappy Pennsylvania! whose peace must be sacrificed to private connexions. Since the zeal of his friends will not suffer them to regard her tranquillity, more worthy of the trust intended him would he appear, in the eyes of many good men, should he voluntarily decline an office, which he cannot accept without alarming, offending, and disturbing his country. How would a virtuous Roman or Grecian have acted on such an occasion? Would he have fixed himself upon the reluctant necks of his countrymen, and thus have told them, 'I will rule you, and dispose of you as I please, because at present I am so fortunate as to have it in my power?' Would one of these ancient patriots have forced himself into public employment to the hazard of the public peace? No! He would have endeavoured to serve his country in a less offensive, in a less dangerous manner, and in this manner I wish the gentleman proposed would endeavour to serve the people of Pennsylvania. Aristides submitted to the voice of Athens, and contented himself with wishing that she might never repent her sentence against him. When Roman virtue was swiftly waning, the dissolute Otho still retained so large a share as voluntarily to resign a life and an empire, that could not be preserved without misfortunes to Rome. Much are they mistaken, who think no man can serve a state, but in the glare of office. He may render the most effectual service to his fellow citizens by examples of virtue and moderation, especially where those examples are particularly necessary. The temperance and other excellent qualities of the elder Cato in private life were perhaps no less useful to the commonwealth, than his consulate and censorship; and I do not know but it may justly be said, that Epaminondas, within the walls of Thebes, gained the battle of Leuctra.

"How many men have greatly promoted the public interests by their counsels and writings! The gentleman proposed has been called here to-day 'a great luminary of the learned world.' I acknowledge his abilities. Far be it from me to detract from the merit I admire. Let him still shine, but without wrapping his country in flames. Let him, from a private station, from a smaller sphere, diffuse, as I think he

will do more towards amending the heart than sermons generally can do. For they were composed by men of much greater piety and wisdom, than our com-

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may, a beneficial light; but let him not be made to move and blaze like a comet to terrify and to distress."

Notwithstanding the tone here assumed, it does not appear that there was any personal hostility between Franklin and Dickinson. Three years afterwards, when John Dickinson's celebrated *Farmer's Letters* came out, Franklin republished them in England, and wrote a preface commendatory of the author and his performance; and at the beginning of the revolution they acted together and in harmony.

The Muses also were made to join in the lamentation, that a philosopher should descend from his high station in the ranks of science to become a politician. The following verses have been often printed, and ascribed to various authors; but they are believed to have been from the pen of Hannah Griffiths, of Philadelphia, a poetess of considerable celebrity in her time, to whose memory there is an elegant tribute in Mr. Fisher's "Essay on the Early Poets of Pennsylvania," published in the second volume of the *Memoirs of the Pennsylvania Historical Society*. They were probably written at a date somewhat later than Mr. Dickinson's speech.

"*Inscription on a curious Stove in the Form of an Urn, contrived in such a Manner as to make the Flame descend instead of rising from the Fire; invented by Dr. Franklin.*

"Like a Newton sublimely he soared
To a summit before unattained,
New regions of science explored,
And the palm of philosophy gained.

"With a spark which he caught from the skies,
He displayed an unparalleled wonder,
And we saw with delight and surprise
That his rod could secure us from thunder.

'Oh! had he been wise to pursue
The track for his talents designed,
What a tribute of praise had been due
To the teacher and friend of mankind.

'But to covet political fame
Was in him a degrading ambition,
The spark that from Lucifer came,
And kindled the blaze of sedition.

"Let candor then write on his urn,
'Here lies the renowned inventor,
Whose flame to the skies ought to burn,
But inverted descends to the centre.'"

mon composers of sermons can pretend to be; and therefore I wish you would never miss the prayer days; yet I do not mean you should despise sermons, even of the preachers you dislike, for the discourse is often much better than the man, as sweet and clear waters come through very dirty earth. I am the more particular on this head, as you seemed to express a little before I came away some inclination to leave our church, which I would not have you do.

For the rest, I would only recommend to you in my absence, to acquire those useful accomplishments, arithmetic and book-keeping. This you might do with ease, if you would resolve not to see company on the hours you set apart for those studies.

We expect to be at sea to-morrow, if this wind holds; after which I shall have no opportunity of writing to you, till I arrive (if it please God I do arrive) in England. I pray that his blessing may attend you, which is worth more than a thousand of mine, though they are never wanting. Give my love to your brother and sister,* as I cannot write to them, and remember me affectionately to the young ladies your friends, and to our good neighbours. I am, my dear child, your affectionate father,

B. FRANKLIN.

* William Franklin, governor of New Jersey, and his wife.

FROM RICHARD JACKSON TO B. FRANKLIN.

Pennsylvania Affairs. — Chief Justice Allen. — Consequences of a Change of Government doubtful.

London, 18 November, 1764.

DEAR SIR,

Nothing has given me, or can give me, more concern than the disturbances and disputes in your province. The mischiefs and dangers to Pennsylvania in particular, and to all America in general, are inconceivable to one, who has not been in England a good part of the past year. The effect that the foresight of these mischiefs and dangers had upon me, and the firm belief I entertained that Mr. Allen* was affected by the prospect as I was myself, made me open my mind more fully to him, than I should otherwise have done, and which I was the more readily induced to do, from the warmth with which he entered into some of my notions, and the candor with which he admitted others. At the same time that I was thoroughly convinced, that the interests of both parties were the same, and have a hundred times heard him confess, that one of them could not gain a victory over the other without a loss of much more than it was worth to themselves. By this I meant, that if government could go on under the Proprietary, it was much better for all parties than a change of government could well be expected to be in the long run, at the same time that a triumph, on the side of the Proprietary, if it could be hoped for, would infallibly in the end strip him of the powers of gov-

* William Allen, chief justice of Pennsylvania, and one of the ablest supporters of the Proprietary interests, had been recently in England.

ernment; for that a man must know little of America, to suppose such a superiority would last long, and little of England, to hope that all the Proprietary's friends could preserve to him a possession, which he held by a tenure so unlike that of every other subject, except Lord Baltimore, and the defence of which was no man's common cause, when attacked and clogged by the efforts of a respectable party in Pennsylvania.*

* To understand clearly what is here meant by the *Proprietary* and, in other parts of this Correspondence, by the *Proprietor*, and *Proprietors*, it is necessary to revert to a few facts respecting the descendants of the original founder of Pennsylvania.

William Penn died in 1718. He was twice married; first to Gulielma Maria Springet; and next to Hannah Callowhill. By the first marriage he had a son and daughter, William and Lætitia; by the second, three sons, John, Thomas, and Richard, and a daughter, Margaret. These children were all living at the time of his death. To his son by the first marriage he left his Irish estate, two of the manors in Pennsylvania, and some other property in the province. To the daughters were left certain city lots and other landed property. The sons by the second marriage inherited the Proprietary interest in Pennsylvania, which was divided into four parts, or shares, two being given to the eldest son, John, one to Thomas, and one to Richard. In 1746 John died without issue, and left his whole estate to Thomas, who thus became proprietor of three fourths. During Franklin's agency in England, therefore, Thomas Penn was the principal Proprietor, and the proprietary affairs mostly devolved on him, although official papers were signed by Thomas and Richard as joint proprietors.

Richard Penn and his descendants ran through a large part of their private estates in Pennsylvania before the revolution, that is, their portions of the manors, farms, and town lots. Thomas, who was a careful man of business, had then a large private property in the province; some of which still remains to his second son, Grenville Penn, now residing in England, and well known for his highly respectable character, learning, and talents. These private estates were not confiscated at the revolution. The family are supposed to have lost much, however, by the improper conduct of their agents, who, taking advantage of their fears and wants, purchased their lands at a very low price. The act of confiscation affected the general proprietary rights, that is, the quitrents and the right of purchase of the Indians. The proprietary tenths of the already surveyed lands were left to the family. As a compensation for their losses, the State of Pennsylvania gave them

I confess I had formed a very advantageous opinion of Mr. Allen's honesty and good sense, and therefore was disposed to talk with him frankly on a subject, on which I thought all honest men of good sense must think alike. I trusted him, therefore, with my opinion on two or three points, which I was satisfied he could not use to the mischief of any one, without hurting himself and his friends, though he might make a use of them for the service of all parties, to the good part of whom I sincerely wished welfare and happiness. But my commission to him was to tell you my apprehensions, and not to make them public, because I never thought that could do service even to his own friends in the end. I particularly gave him this commission to you, in order to open again that correspondence, which I was of opinion was of so much consequence to the province to bring about. I am sorry I was mistaken, but think that the mischief will fall at last on those, who have rejected terms of accommodation.

That I did not mean that Mr. Allen should make my sentiments public, is evident. I did not even write them to any one else in the world, but yourself; and, if I glanced at any such in my letters to Mr. Galloway, or the Committee, it was at a distance; but I have to believe, too, that he has exaggerated my ex-

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one hundred and thirty thousand pounds sterling, which sum, if not an equivalent, was considered a very liberal grant. It was divided between the children of the two brothers in proportion to their shares in the proprietary interest. They also obtained from the English government a large indemnity as loyal refugees, besides a pension and certain sinecure offices for a definite time; so that, in regard to property, it is probable that the family were fully remunerated for their losses in Pennsylvania.

All William Penn's children, except Lætitia and John, abandoned the religious tenets of their father; and hence, at the time of Franklin's agency, the Proprietors were not Quakers.

pressions. I confess I have thought, from the best judgment I could form of the opinion of people in power, that it was probable they might be glad to take a favorable opportunity of possessing the crown of these powers of government, without giving the people of the province any ground to triumph over those, who have pretended that they have been fighting the battle of the crown. I had reasons for this opinion, and therefore wished to defend the province from the dangers it threatened. I thought it my duty to do so; and therefore hinted to you, in more letters than one, what I apprehended. My apprehensions were chiefly on the head of purchase money to be paid to the Proprietary, and some privileges of the people of Pennsylvania; but my apprehensions never extended on the former head to one hundred thousand pounds, nor, on the latter, did I think that the crown would by violence and unconstitutionality strip the province of its privileges.

I do not write you this for public use. Perhaps it might serve some purpose to make it public, but I know you will make no use of it, that I do not consent to; and my design is only to open my heart to you on the subject, and that it should go no further.

Since I wrote the above, I received your favor acquainting me with the event of the election. I am heartily sorry for it, not for your sake, but for that of the province. I now look on the hopes of reconciliation as banished for ever, and am sure that the event will be the vesting the powers of government in the crown. My compliments to the governor of New Jersey. I took all the pains I could to get his judge confirmed, but there was some want of form in his appointment, that rendered it impracticable;

besides, I have really little interest with ministers of any kind, though I keep a post that gives me access to them. Perhaps it may be of service, and I may have more. Farewell, dear friend, and believe me, &c.

RICHARD JACKSON.

FROM JOSEPH GALLOWAY TO B. FRANKLIN.*

Defects of the Proprietary Government. — Its unequal Administration. — Appointments to Office.

Philadelphia, 23 November, 1764.

DEAR SIR,

I wrote you from Newcastle the substance of the address of the Lower Counties' Assembly, in which

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* Joseph Galloway, son of Peter Galloway, was born in the neighbourhood of West River, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, about the year 1730. As his family was respectable and of good fortune, his education was probably the best that could be obtained in the middle colonies. He came early in life to Philadelphia, where he commenced the practice of the law, in which he attained eminence. In the year 1757 he was elected to the Assembly for the County of Philadelphia, and immediately took a prominent stand in that body, being a member of most of the committees, and constantly employed in public duties, as we find, in the *Votes*, by his compensation for extra services The next year he was chairman of the committee of grievances, and managed the prosecution of Dr. Smith and Mr. Moore for a libel on the Assembly. In subsequent years he held the same place, and his Report, in 1764, on the state and grievances of the province, was the occasion of his well known speech published with Dr. Franklin's Preface, in answer to one of the celebrated John Dickinson.

He sided with Dr. Franklin in opposition to the Proprietary interest, and urged the resumption of the government by the crown. And, though on this account in 1764 he lost his election in the county, he was the next year returned a member, and was chosen Speaker of the Assembly, to which office he was successively reëlected till the year 1774.

In 1757 he was one of the agents of Pennsylvania at the treaty with the Indians at Easton. In the next year, as one of the commissioners under the act for granting one hundred thousand pounds, he entered into a controversy with the governor, which may be seen at length in

they inform the crown, that, although they are governed under the same charter with the people of Pennsylvania, yet that their laws are different. Will it be amiss to inform the crown, should our intended change

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the *Votes* and Gordon's History. What were his powers as a speaker tradition does not say, but he led the popular party in all their attacks on the Proprietary interest; and was so highly esteemed by them, that they delegated him as a member of the General Congress, which met at Philadelphia in 1774. Whether he took an active part in their proceedings, does not appear. His name is signed to their declarations and resolutions; but he seems to have soon abandoned the revolutionary cause under the influence of his loyal principles or his sordid fears.

After the British troops had penetrated into New Jersey, in 1776, on their then intended march to Philadelphia, he was among those who joined the army, previous to the capture of the Hessians at Trenton. He afterwards accompanied them on their route by the way of the Chesapeake Bay, and with them entered the city of Philadelphia in the latter end of September, 1777. Here he was an active agent under Sir William Howe, the commander-in-chief of the British forces in America. On the evacuation of Philadelphia, in June, 1778, he went to New York, where he remained some months, and thence sailed for England, accompanied by his only daughter, abandoning (according to his own account) an estate of the value of forty thousand pounds, which had been confiscated by the government of Pennsylvania in pursuance of his proscription and attainder. But the larger part of this estate, which he held by courtesy, being the inheritance of his wife, the daughter of Lawrence Growdon of Bucks County, (for a long time Speaker of the Provincial Assembly,) was restored to their daughter. It is called Trevose, and is still owned by his descendants, having continued in the family since the settlement of Pennsylvania.

On his arrival in England, Galloway was examined before the House of Commons on the transactions in America, and his representations, which are in print, did not reflect much credit on the British commanders. He published, in 1779, a pamphlet, entitled, "Letters to a Nobleman on the Conduct of the War in the Middle Colonies," in which, notwithstanding his attachments, he discloses and reprehends the conduct of the British troops, especially in New Jersey. He also published "A Letter to Lord Howe," "A Reply to the Observations of General Howe," "Cool Thoughts on the Consequences of American Independence," "Candid Examination of the Claims of Great Britain and her Colonies," "Reflections on the American Rebellion in 1780," and some other pamphlets. He was, it is believed, a pensioner of the British government, and he resided in England till the time of his decease in 1803. — J. Francis Fisher.

meet with any obstructions from this address, that, by the deed from the Duke of York to William Penn, he was only entitled to the soil and not to the powers of government, the soil being only granted; and that, consequently, Mr. Penn exceeded his power in extending the charter to the Lower Counties; and that therefore the charter, being granted by a person not having the power of granting, is void? And as to their laws, the ministry may certainly be surprised to find a government carried on, and laws made for upwards of sixty years, without transmitting any of them for their approbation. This conduct is not only treating the crown with great disrespect, but is invading its prerogatives in a dangerous point.

I apprehend the reason of the crown's reserving a power to repeal or confirm the laws of the colonies is, that it may, by a superintendent power, be able at all times to prevent the ill consequences, that must flow from statutes made inconsistent with the allegiance of the subject, or contrary to the royal prerogative. But, if a colony should have it in its power, by a juggle between the two branches of the legislature, to pass laws without ever presenting them to the royal eye, or ministerial inspection, then sedition, disloyalty, and infringements of the King's prerogative may be promoted, and sanctified by the solemnity of laws, and all their attendant mischiefs ensue, without the least possibility of redress. I call it a juggle, because you well know, the Assembly of that government have been indulged by the Proprietaries in many things, which they have refused here, particularly the Loan Office Act, which was passed about the same time, in which the one in Pennsylvania was assented to by the governor; an act liable to the same objections made by the Proprietaries to the one passed

here, and yet they presented the latter for the royal disapprobation, and exerted all their industry to obtain a repeal, while the former they permitted, with all the rest of the Lower County laws, to sleep unpresented. Nay more, their present governor appointed by a new act a new set of trustees to carry the former law into execution.

Does not a conduct of this sort in a Proprietary governor fully justify the assertion of the Lords of Trade, that his Majesty's prerogative is too weighty to be intrusted to the feeble hands of private individuals, who, from attachments to their own private interest, views, and schemes, are ever ready to violate or surrender it up, to serve their own purposes of a private nature. Mr. Wharton has promised to send you the act, with the supplement, or I shoulc do it by this opportunity.

The proprietary party still are industrious in endeavouring to prevent our design to change the government. The corporation of this city have been for several days engaged in petitioning the Proprietaries not to surrender the government to the crown; but, in case this cannot be avoided, to use their interest to preserve the charter privileges. The Presbyterians, likewise, have been as active in preparing and signing a petition to the same purpose, only differing in the conclusion, that, in case the change takes place, their religious privileges are to be preserved. These petitions are to go over with Mr. Hamilton.

The confusion of the government does not seem yet to be at an end, and, I am convinced, never will be, unless one more just, impartial, and respectful, than that of a Proprietary, should succeed. Every day furnishes further proofs. At the last election at Lancaster a Dutchman, who came into the country

young, and is very capable of executing the office, was elected, and appointed sheriff of that county. The Irish Presbyterians, being disappointed in not having one of themselves elected to that office, refused to serve on either grand or petit juries, though regularly summoned by the sheriff, because he was a Dutchman, so that there was a failure of justice last term in that city. The sheriff, in endeavouring to serve a process on one of those people, was violently assaulted, had both ears of his horse cut off, and was obliged to fly to save his life. And here the matter rests. For I cannot learn there are any measures taking to bring the offenders to justice; and, were they taken, I much doubt their success, such is the debility of this proprietary government.

I hear that the governor, to show how little he regards the remonstrances from the Assembly respecting the maleconduct of the justiciary officers, has reinstated William Moore of Chester County, as the president of Chester court, and has turned out Mr. Hannums, a very worthy man, for this only reason, because he has supported the measures prosecuted in favor of the crown, respecting a change of government; and I am also well informed, that Mr. Pawling is to be left out in this county with several others, for the like reason, and several Presbyterians are to fill their places. Mr. Bryan, of this city, is one. A strange government this, in which loyalty and affection to the sovereign are made criminal, while a servile submission and implicit obedience to the unjust and oppressive measures of a private subject, are the only path to promotion. I am, &c.

JOSEPH GALLOWAY.*

* Thomas Wharton, writing to Dr. Franklin a few days later on the subject of the above letter, says; "The more I have reflected on the

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

Arrival in England.

Saint Helen's Road, Isle of W'ght,
5 o'clock, P. M., 9 December, 1764.

MY DEAR DEBBY,

This line is just to let you know, that we have this moment come to an anchor here, and that I am going ashore at Portsmouth, and hope to be in London on Tuesday morning. No father could have been tenderer to a child than Captain Robinson has been to me, for which I am greatly obliged to Messrs. James and Drinker; but we have had terrible weather, and I have often been thankful, that our dear Sally

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state we are in, the clearer I am confirmed in my judgment of the absolute necessity of the measure [a change of government]; and for my own part cannot help saying, that I think a Legislative Council will one day or other be found to be the greatest support of our privileges, as well as that of the rights of the crown. For, when I consider the natural increase of the P————ns, and the vast numbers yearly arriving among us, I am induced to believe they will have the rule and direction of our elections. If that should prove the circumstance, nothing can contribute to our freedom so much as a Legislative Council, who would, no doubt, receive their appointment from London, and every avenue would be well guarded on that side of the water; so that those people would not have it in their power to fill both the legislative and executive branches of government."—*Philadelphia, December 4th.*

The blank in this extract doubtless refers to the Presbyterians. It would seem that religious motives, as well as political, mingled in this controversy about the change of government. In this point of view the following "Circular Letter" throws some light on the subject.

"Philadelphia, 30 March, 1764.

"Our General Assembly have adjourned for a short time to consult their constituents, whether an humble address should be drawn up and transmitted to his Majesty, praying that he would be pleased to take this province under his immediate protection and government; that is, whether the freemen of this province should petition the King, that we may be reduced to the form of a King's government. The Free

was not with me. Tell our friends that dined with us on the turtle, that the kind prayer they then put up for thirty days' fair wind to me was favorably heard and answered, we being just thirty days from land to land.

I am, thanks to God, very well and hearty. John has behaved well to me, and so has everybody on board. I thank all my friends for their favors, which contributed so much to the comfort of my voyage. I have not time to name names. You know whom I love and honor. Say all the proper things for me to everybody. Love to our children, and to my dear brother and sister. I am, dear Debby, your ever loving husband, B. FRANKLIN.*

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byterians here, upon mature deliberation, are of opinion, that it is not safe to do things of such importance rashly. Our privileges by these means may be greatly *abridged*, but will never be *enlarged*. We are under the King's protection now, as much as we can be, for he will never govern us in person; and it is of no great consequence whether his deputy be recommended by the Proprietaries, or by some other great man by his Majesty's approbation. Our charter is in danger by such a change, and let no man persuade you to the contrary.

"There has been a half-yearly meeting of the Quakers in this city; but this change of government has not been proposed in their meeting, as we can yet understand, nor is it approved of by the heads of that Society. This affair is in all probability a trap, laid to ensnare the unwary, and then to cast an odium on the Presbyterians for ruining, or attempting to ruin, the province. The frontier counties are now suing for redress of grievance, and we have the greatest reason to believe, that it is no more than an artful scheme to divide or divert the attention of the injured frontier inhabitants from prosecuting their petitions, which very much alarm them. For these reasons, we would earnestly recommend to you to lose no time in advising all under your influence, whether of our denomination or others, not to sign any such petition.

"Signed per order, "GILBERT TENNENT,
"FRANCIS ALISON.
"JOHN EWING."

* He reached London in the evening of the 10th of December, and went immediately to his old lodgings. In a short letter to Miss Ste-

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

London, 9 February, 1765.

My dear Child,

I have been so hurried of late, that I could not write much by this packet. One letter to the Speaker, and one to you, are all I shall be able to make out. Thanks to God, I am got perfectly well; my cough quite gone. My arms, too, continue mending, so that I can now put on and off my clothes, but do not practice it yet, as it still hurts me a little. John continues with me, behaves very well, and talks of returning with me. Mrs. Stevenson has bought the things you wrote for, and they will go by Captain Robinson. She presents her compliments, and wishes you would come over and bring Sally. I purpose sending in the chest some books for cousin Colbert, if the bookseller sends them soon enough.

I hope to be able to return about the end of summer. I will look out for a watch for Sally, as you

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venson, who was then in the country, he said; "I have once more the pleasure of writing a line to my dear Polly, from Craven Street, where I arrived on Monday evening, in about thirty days from Philadelphia. Your good mamma was not at home, and the maid could not tell where to find her; so I sat me down and waited her return, when she was a good deal surprised to find me in her parlour."

The intelligence of this event seems to have caused a sensation among his friends in Philadelphia. "A vessel from Ireland to New York," says Cadwallader Evans in a letter to him, "brought us the most agreeable news of your arrival in London, which occasioned a great and general joy in Pennsylvania among those, whose esteem an honest man would value most. The bells rang on that account till near midnight, and libations were poured out for your health, success, and every other happiness. Even your old friend Hugh Roberts stayed with us till eleven o'clock, which you know was a little out of his common road, and gave us many curious anecdotes within the compass of your forty years' acquaintance."—*March 15th*, 1765.

desire, to bring with me. The reason I did not think of it before, was your suffering her to wear yours, which you seldom use yourself. Major Small arrived here about three weeks since very well, and gave me the pleasure of hearing that he left you and Sally and our other children well also. The news of Colonel Bouquet's succcss gave great satisfaction here, but to none more than myself, upon his account as well as the country's. I do not know whether I mentioned in any former letter, that I could wish you to send me what letters come to your hands directed to me in my absence. I particularly want those, that went from the post-office here.

I am obliged to our landlord for his civility, and shall always remember it. I hope by this time your trouble of moving is over, and that you are completely settled. I went to see Mrs. West. She was then unwell, and I did not see her, and have since been too busy; but shall wait on them again very soon. My love to all. I am, my dear Debby, your affectionate husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

FROM JOSEPH GALLOWAY TO B. FRANKLIN.

Alarm in Pennsylvania on the News being received, that the Petitions of the Assembly had been rejected by the King.

Philadelphia, 27 February, 1765.

DEAR SIR,

I wrote to you by the packet, including a copy of the extract of a letter from Thomas Penn to his nephew, the governor, which is enclosed in this letter.

This account of the petitions for a change of this government from proprietary to r[illegible]s struck our

friends with the utmost consternation, and, indeed, I am not a little alarmed at the consequences. For, you well know, the Assembly party are the only loyal part of the people here, and are those very persons, who have preserved the peace and good order of the province, not only against the Paxton rioters and murderers, but also in these times of general tumult and distraction, when all the powers of this government were asleep, and its officers were inactive in the opposition; and they conceive, that this good demeanor and remarkable service to the crown justify their claim of some share of merit, and, at least, entitle them to a hearing of their complaints.

But they say, if this extract be true, that his Majesty's Privy Council has rejected the humble petitions of their representatives without even a hearing; that they have not been permitted, when they have approached the throne with the utmost duty and loyalty, to breathe forth their complaints against proprietary oppression and injustice, which has often wounded their own welfare, and obstructed their essential duties to the crown; and that they have nothing now left, but to groan, if they dare to groan at all, under the tyranny of a private subject, without the least hopes of redress, the royal ear being shut against a part of his liege subjects, the most dutiful and loyal.

They further say, what you well know, that the laws are not, nor have been, for many years duly executed; that no justice is to be obtained against the Proprietors, or their adherents; that the most flagitious offenders, even murderers and rebels, are travelling about the country with impunity; and that they have no protection of life, nor safety of person or property. These, with many other complaints, are constantly issuing from the hearts of the people; the

proprietary dependents excepted, who great.y rejoice and even insult the petitioners and their friends. Since the receipt of this incredible letter, extracts whereof have been industriously sent all over the province, in order to spirit up the temper and violent disposition of their party, I have left nothing in my power unessayed among our friends to oppose the torrent, and to prevail on them to discredit this account, and to believe that his Majesty will yet hear their petitions and redress their aggrievances. And I have been obliged to give many extracts of your letters to me, respecting the state of those petitions, to convince them of my assurances, which has, in some degree, prevented their despair, as they have been from thence induced to discredit the extract.

Our Assembly, anxious to know the result of the petitions, have adjourned to the 6th of May next; being inviolably attached to his Majesty, and firmly determined to become his immediate subjects, if there are any human means left to effect it. And since the assurances that have been received, that our liberties will be preserved on the change, all their constituents (the proprietary dependents and Presbyterians excepted) are determined to support them in the attempt. Should this account from the Proprietor prove true, (which God forbid,) that their petitions are rejected without a *hearing*, I fear their consternation and distress will be wrought still higher. For, while the present members are continued, I am convinced they will never cease entreating his Majesty to rescue them from the oppression of his private subjects; and that there is a great probability to presume their continuance, will appear from the accounts of the last election.

Wherefore I hope the petitions, as you have written, and I have confidently declared, are not rejected,

or laid aside, but will be resumed when the more important American affairs are settled. Nothing less than a change, I think, will satisfy the people; certain I am, a dismission without a hearing never can, but, I fear, will throw this already too unhappy province into equal disorder and confusion with its neighbouring colonies.

You will therefore be pleased to inform me in what state the petitions are before his Majesty's Council, by the earliest opportunity, that I may be enabled to satisfy the people, who rely upon us with certainty. In the mean time, be assured, that nothing in my power shall be wanting to preserve the peace, and render them easy. Believe me, dear friend, ever yours most affectionately,

JOSEPH GALLOWAY.

TO THE EDITOR OF A NEWSPAPER.*

Humorous Account of News-writers, and of the Intelligence often contained in Newspapers.

Monday, 20 May, 1765.

SIR,

In your paper of Wednesday last, an ingenious correspondent who calls himself THE SPECTATOR, and dates from *Pimlico*, under the guise of good will to the news-writers, whom he calls a "useful body of men in this great city," has, in my opinion, artfully attempted to turn them and their works into ridicule,

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* This humorous letter was written in London, probably with the view of exposing the idle and false reports that were constantly circulated respecting the American colonies. It is here printed as transcribed from the original draft, in which the name of the newspaper for which it was intended is not mentioned.

wherein, if he could succeed, great injury might be done to the public as well as to these good people.

Supposing, Sir, that the "*we hears*" they give us of this or the other intended tour or voyage of this and the other great personage were mere inventions, yet they at least offer us an innocent amusement while we read, and useful matter for conversation when we are disposed to converse.

Englishmen, Sir, are too apt to be silent when they have nothing to say, and too apt to be sullen when they are silent; and, when they are sullen, to hang themselves. But, by these *we hears*, we are supplied with abundant funds for discourse. We discuss the motives for such voyages, the probability of their being undertaken, and the practicability of their execution. Here we display our judgment in politics, our knowledge of the interests of princes, and our skill in geography, and (if we have it) show our dexterity in argumentation. In the mean time, the tedious hour is killed, we go home pleased with the applauses we have received from others, or at least with those we give to ourselves; we sleep soundly, and live on, to the comfort of our families. But, Sir, I beg leave to say, that all the articles of news that seem improba ble are not mere inventions. Some of them, I can assure you on the faith of a traveller, are serious truths. And here, quitting Mr. Spectator of Pimlico, give me leave to instance the various accounts the news-writers have given us, with so much honest zeal for the welfare of *Poor Old England*, of the establish ing manufactures in the colonies to the prejudice of those of the kingdom. It is objected by superficial readers, who yet pretend to some knowledge of those countries, that such establishments are not only improbable, but impossible, for that their sheep have but

little wool, not in the whole sufficient for a pair of stockings a year to each inhabitant; that, from the universal dearness of labor among them, the working of iron and other materials, except in a few coarse instances, is impracticable to any advantage.

Dear Sir, do not let us suffer ourselves to be amused with such groundless objections. The very tails of the American sheep are so laden with wool, that each has a little car or wagon on four little wheels, to support and keep it from trailing on the ground. Would they caulk their ships, would they even litter their horses with wool, if it were not both plenty and cheap? And what signifies the dearness of labor, when an English shilling passes for five and twenty? Their engaging three hundred silk throwsters here in one week for New York was treated as a fable, because, forsooth, they have "no silk there to throw." Those, who make this objection, perhaps do not know, that, at the same time the agents from the King of Spain were at Quebec to contract for one thousand pieces of cannon to be made there for the fortification of Mexico, and at New York engaging the usual supply of woollen floor-carpets for their West India houses, other agents from the emperor of China were at Boston treating about an exchange of raw silk for wool, to be carried in Chinese junks through the Straits of Magellan.

And yet all this is as certainly true, as the account said to be from Quebec, in all the papers of last week, that the inhabitants of Canada are making preparations for a cod and whale fishery this "summer in the upper Lakes." Ignorant people may object, that the upper Lakes are fresh, and that cod and whales are salt water fish; but let them know, Sir, that cod, like other fish when attacked by their enemies, fly into

any water where they can be safest; that whales, when they have a mind to eat cod, pursue them wherever they fly; and that the grand leap of the whale in the chase up the Falls of Niagara is esteemed, by all who have seen it, as one of the finest spectacles in nature. Really, Sir, the world is grown too incredulous. It is like the pendulum ever swinging from one extreme to another. Formerly every thing printed was believed, because it was in print. Now things seem to be disbelieved for just the very same reason. Wise men wonder at the present growth of infidelity. They should have considered, when they taught people to doubt the authority of newspapers and the truth of predictions in the almanacs, that the next step might be a disbelief of the well vouched accounts of ghosts and witches, and doubts even of the truths of the Creed.

Thus much I thought it necessary to say in favor of an honest set of writers, whose comfortable living depends on collecting and supplying the printers with news at the small price of sixpence an article, and who always show their regard to truth, by contradicting in a subsequent article such as are wrong, for another sixpence, to the great satisfaction and improvement of us coffee-house students in history and politics, and all future Livys, Rapins, Robertsons, Humes, and Macaulays, who may be sincerely inclined to furnish the world with that *rara avis*, a true history. I am, Sir, your humble servant,

A TRAVELLER.

TO LORD KAMES.

Describes his Passage from England to America. — Island of Madeira. — Transactions in Pennsylvania. — Insurrection of the Frontier Inhabitants, and Massacre of the Indians. — Not elected to the Assembly. — His Return to England as Agent for Pennsylvania.

London, 2 June, 1765.

MY DEAR LORD,

I received with great pleasure your friendly letter by Mr. Alexander, which I should have answered sooner by some other conveyance, if I had understood that his stay here was like to be so long. I value myself extremely on the continuance of your regard, which I hope hereafter better to deserve, by more punctual returns in the correspondence you honor me with.

You require my history from the time I set sail for America. I left England about the end of August, 1762, in company with ten sail of merchant ships, under a convoy of a man-of-war. We had a pleasant passage to Madeira, where we were kindly received and entertained; our nation being then in high honor with the Portuguese, on account of the protection we were then affording them against the united invasions of France and Spain. It is a fertile island, and the different heights and situations among its mountains afford such temperaments of air, that all the fruits of northern and southern countries are produced there; corn, grapes, apples, peaches, oranges, lemons, plantains, bananas, &c. Here we furnished ourselves with fresh provisions, and refreshments of all kinds; and, after a few days, proceeded on our voyage, running southward until we got into the trade winds, and then with

them westward, till we drew near the coast of America. The weather was so favorable, that there were few days in which we could not visit from ship to ship, dining with each other, and on board of the man-of-war; which made the time pass agreeably, much more so than when one goes in a single ship; for this was like travelling in a moving village, with all one's neighbours about one.

On the 1st of November, I arrived safe and well at my own home, after an absence of near six years, found my wife and daughter well; the latter grown quite a woman, with many amiable accomplishments acquired in my absence; and my friends as hearty and affectionate as ever, with whom my house was filled for many days, to congratulate me on my return. I had been chosen yearly during my absence to represent the city of Philadelphia in our provincial Assembly; and, on my appearance in the House, they voted me three thousand pounds sterling for my services in England, and their thanks, delivered by the Speaker. In February following my son arrived with my new daughter; for, with my consent and approbation, he married soon after I left England a very agreeable West India lady, with whom he is very happy. I accompanied him to his government, where he met with the kindest reception from the people of all ranks, and has lived with them ever since in the greatest harmony. A river only s
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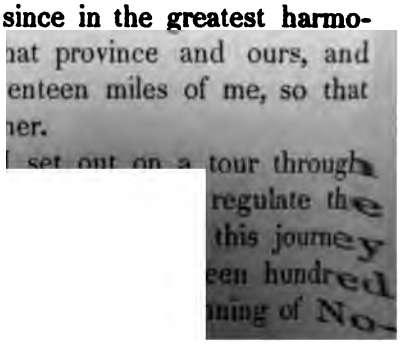
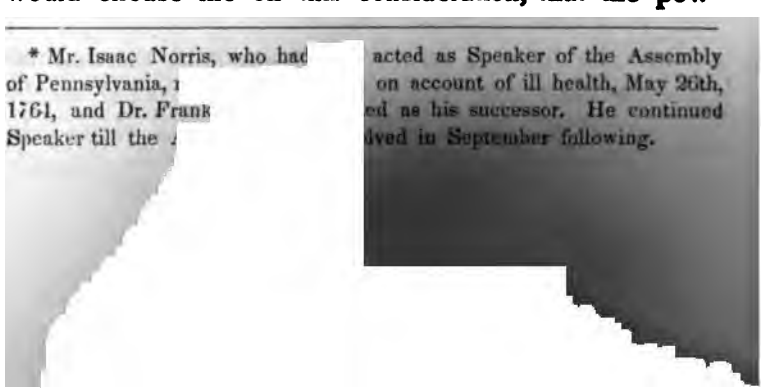


vember. The Assembly sitting through the following winter, and warm disputes arising between them and the governor, I became wholly engaged in public affairs; for, besides my duty as an Assemblyman, I had another trust to execute, that of being one of the commissioners appointed by law to dispose of the public money appropriated to the raising and paying an army to act against the Indians, and defend the frontiers. And then, in December, we had two insurrections of the back inhabitants of our province, by whom twenty poor Indians were murdered, that had, from the first settlement of the province, lived among us, under the protection of our government. This gave me a good deal of employment; for, as the rioters threatened further mischief, and their actions seemed to be approved by an ever-acting party, I wrote a pamphlet entitled "*A Narrative, &c.*" (which I think I sent to you) to strengthen the hands of our weak government, by rendering the proceedings of the rioters unpopular and odious. This had a good effect; and afterwards, when a great body of them with arms marched towards the capital, in defiance of the government, with an avowed resolution to put to death one hundred and forty Indian converts then under its protection, I formed an Association at the governor's request, for his and their defence, we having no militia. Near one thousand of the citizens accordingly took arms; Governor Penn made my house for some time his head-quarters, and did every thing by my advice; so that, for about forty-eight hours, I was a very great man; as I had been once some years before, in a time of public danger.

But the fighting face we put on, and the reasonings we used with the insu nts, (for I went at the request of the governor and l, with three oth-

ers, to meet and discourse with them,) having turned them back and restored quiet to the city, I became a less man than ever; for I had, by this transaction, made myself many enemies among the populace; and the governor, (with whose family our public disputes had long placed me in an unfriendly light, and the services I had lately rendered him not being of the kind that make a man acceptable,) thinking it a favorable opportunity, joined the whole weight of the proprietary interest to get me out of the Assembly; which was accordingly effected at the last election, by a majority of about twenty-five in four thousand voters. The House, however, when they met in October, approved of the resolutions taken, while I was Speaker,* of petitioning the crown for a change of government, and requested me to return to England, to prosecute that petition; which service I accordingly undertook, and embarked at the beginning of November last, being accompanied to the ship, sixteen miles, by a cavalcade of three hundred of my friends, who filled our sails with their good wishes, and I arrived in thirty days at London.

Here I have been ever since, engaged in that and other public affairs relating to America, which are like to continue some time longer upon my hands; but I promise you, that when I am quit of these, I will engage in no other; and that, as soon as I have recovered the ease and leisure I hope for, the task you require of me, of finishing my *Art of Virtue*, shall be performed. In the mean time, I must request you would excuse me on this consideration, that the pow-



* Mr. Isaac Norris, who had acted as Speaker of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, on account of ill health, May 26th, 1761, and Dr. Frank ed as his successor. He continued Speaker till the dved in September following.

ers of the mind are possessed by different men in different degrees, and that every one cannot, like Lord Kames, intermix literary pursuits and important business without prejudice to either.

I send you herewith two or three other pamphlets of my writing on our political affairs, during my short residence in America;* but I do not insist on your reading them; for I know you employ all your time to some useful purpose.† I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. I promise myself the pleasure of seeing you and my other friends in Scotland before I return to America.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

Domestic Affairs. — Acknowledgment of Divine Goodness.

London, 4 June, 1765.

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have now before me your favors; not so many letters as dates, some of them having two or three. As to the cause concerning the lot, I have never been in the least uneasy about it, desiring only, that justice might be done, which I do not doubt. I hope Robinson was not long missing after your letter, as I really have a great esteem for him. I could have wished to be present at the finishing of the kitchen, as it is a mere machine; and, being new to you, I

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* These were "A Narrative of the Late Massacres;" "Cool Thoughts;" and the "Preface to Galloway's Speech." See Vol. IV. pp. 54, 78, 101.

† Another part of this letter, containing a curious analysis of musical harmony is printed under the head of "PAPERS ON PHILOSOPHICAL SUBJECTS." See Vol. VI. p. 263.

think you will scarce know how to work it; the several contrivances to carry off steam, smell, and smoke not being fully explained to you. The oven I suppose was put up by the written directions in my former letter. You mention nothing of the furnace. If that iron one is not set, let it alone till my return, when I shall bring a more convenient copper one.

You wonder how I did to travel seventy-two miles in a short winter day, on my landing in England, and think I must have practised flying. But the roads here are so good, with postchaises and fresh horses every ten or twelve miles, that it is no difficult matter. A lady, that I know, has come from Edinburgh to London, being four hundred miles, in three days and a half. You mention the payment of the £500, but do not say, that you have got the deeds executed. I suppose, however, that it was done. I received the two postoffice letters you sent me. It was not letters of that sort alone that I wanted, but all such as were sent to me from any one whomsoever.

I cannot but complain in my mind of Mr. Smith, that the house is so long unfit for you to get into, the fences not put up, nor the other necessary articles ready. The well I expected would have been dug in the winter, or early in the spring, but I hear nothing of it. You should have gardened long before the date of your last, but it seems the rubbish was not removed. I am much obliged to my good old friends, that did me the honor to remember me in the unfinished kitchen. I hope soon to drink with them in the parlour.

I am very thankful to the good ladies you mention for their friendly wishes. Present my best respects to Mrs. Grace, and dear, precious Mrs. Shewell, Mrs. Masters, Mrs. and Miss Galloway, Mrs. Redman, Mrs

Graeme, Mrs. Thomson, Mrs. Story, Mrs. Bartram, Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Hilborne, and all the others you have named to me. My love also to our brothers and sisters, and cousins, as if particularly mentioned. I have delivered yours to Mrs. and Miss Stevenson, Mr. and Mrs. Strahan and their family, Mrs. Empson, Mrs. West, and our country cousins. Miss Graham has not come to town, as I have heard.

It rejoices me to learn, that you are more free than you used to be from the headache, and that pain in your side. I am likewise in perfect health. God is very good to us both in many respects. Let us enjoy his favors with a thankful and cheerful heart; and, as we can make no direct return to him, show our sense of his goodness to us by continuing to do good to our fellow creatures, without regarding the returns they make us, whether good or bad. For they are all his children, though they may sometimes be our enemies. The friendships of this world are changeable, uncertain, transitory things; but his favor, if we can secure it, is an inheritance for ever. I am, my dear Debby, your ever loving husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

FROM THOMAS WHARTON TO B. FRANKLIN.

Dissatisfaction in Pennsylvania respecting the Stamp Act. — A Congress at New York proposed. — Virginia Resolutions.

Philadelphia, 24 June, 1765.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I doubt not that several of thy friends have informed thee of the uneasiness which the act of Parliament, relative to the stamp duties, creates, not only on

account of the mode pursued, whereby our Assemblies are rendered little better than corporations, but that part whereby the Judge of the Admiralty is capable of determining a matter of property, heretofore only to be ascertained by a trial by jury, and thereby depriving us of one of the most essential privileges of an Englishman.

I yesterday read a letter sent by the Speaker of the House of Assembly for the Boston government to the Speaker of our House, wherein are directly intimated their sentiments of the act, and they propose a meeting of a committee from each Assembly on the continent, on the 3d of October, at New York, in order jointly to draw up an address to his Majesty, in dutiful and loyal terms, setting the matter forth in its proper light, as well as to represent to the Parliament the state of our colonies and trade, which, we hope, will have a proper effect, as it is much more consistent than the method pursued by Virginia.*

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* The allusion here is to the celebrated Resolutions, brought before the Virginia House of Burgesses by Patrick Henry, and passed, May 29th, 1765. See the Resolutions in ALMON'S *Prior Documents*, p. 6; and also in WIRT'S *Life of Patrick Henry*. In writing on this subject to Dr. Franklin, June 18th, Joseph Galloway said; "Permit me to present you with the enclosed resolves of the Lower House of Assembly of Virginia, on the Stamp Act, and the right of the British legislature in forming that law. After they were passed, the governor, by some means, procured from the clerk the original minutes of the House, tore them out, and instantly dissolved the Assembly. They were, however, published in the Maryland Gazette, from which this copy is taken, as I could not procure one of them to send you. I cannot describe to you the indefatigable industry, that has been, and is constantly taking, by the Proprietary party and men in power here to prevail on the people to give every kind of opposition to the execution of this law; to incense their minds against the King, Lords, and Commons; and to alienate their affections from the mother country. It is no uncommon thing to hear the judges of the courts of justice, from the first to the most inferior, in the presence of the attending populace, treat the whole Parliament with the most irreverent abuse. Scarcely any thing is too bad

Our House being adjourned to September, they cannot meet till that time, unless the governor sees cause to call them; wherefore, it is intended to summon the members, who reside in Philadelphia, Bucks, and Chester counties, in a few days, that they may give their sentiments relative to the measure; from whence an answer may be formed and sent to the Boston Assembly. For, although the members cannot form themselves into a House, yet, if those of three counties shall conclude on any step, it can scarce be doubted but the Assembly in their September sitting will confirm it. I remain thy assured friend,

THOMAS WHARTON.

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to be said of the ministry; and that worthy nobleman, Lord Bute, is openly cursed, whenever his name is mentioned. These things are truly alarming to our friends, and the discreet and sensible part of the people; as it is evident, they tend with great rapidity to create in the minds of the populace and weaker part of mankind a spirit of riot and rebellion, which will be hereafter quelled with great difficulty, if ever quelled at all. It is already become dangerous to espouse the conduct of the Parliament in some parts of America in any degree, as the Resolves before mentioned prove, and I fear it will in a very short time become so in this province. For almost every pen and tongue are employed against them, while not a word scarcely is offered on their side; and yet I have thoughts of endeavouring to state the conduct of the mother country, with regard to her colonies, in a new light, and endeavour, if possible, to check the growing mischiefs."

As suggested at the close of Mr. Wharton's letter, several members of the Assembly came together informally, and unanimously approved the proposition of Massachusetts, for a Congress to be held at New York, consisting of deputies, or committees as they were called, from the Assemblies of all the colonies. When the Pennsylvania Assembly met, the subject was considered, and, on the 11th of September, the Speaker and three other members, that is, John Dickinson, John Morton, and George Bryan, were appointed for the purpose.

TO HUGH ROBERTS.

Political Adversaries. — The Old Junto.

London, 7 July, 1.

DEAR FRIEND,

Your kind favor of May 20th, by the hand of good friend Mr. Neave, gave me great pleasur find on those occasions, that expressions of steady, tinued friendship, such as are contained in your l though but from one or a few honest and se men, who have long known us, afford a satisf that far outweighs the clamorous abuse of a tho knaves and fools. While I enjoy the share I h long had in the esteem of my old friends, the and-beast people you mention may peck, and and bark at me as much as they think proper. is only some danger, that I should grow too v their disapprobation.

I am pleased with your punning, not mer cause I like punning in general, but because from your using it, that you are in good hea spirits, which I pray may long continue. Our are at a total stop here, by the present unsettled s the ministry, but will go forward again as soon is fixed. Nothing yet appears that is discoura

I have not yet found an engraver that will seal well and reasonably. Kirk asked me guineas, and some others a little less. I think better content ourselves with the old one; l inquire further.* Remember me respectfully

* On the 20th of August he wrote; "I informed you twenty guineas were demanded by Kirk for engraving th seal. I have since found a man that will do it for ten, bu will hardly do it so well. Let me know your sentiments pense."

fectionately to your good dame and children, and accept my thanks for your kind visits to my little family in my absence.

I wish you would continue to meet the Junto, notwithstanding that some effects of our public political misunderstandings may sometimes appear there. It is now perhaps one of the *oldest* clubs, as I think it was formerly one of the *best*, in the King's dominions. It wants but about two years of forty since it was established. We loved and still love one another; we are grown gray together, and yet it is too early to part. Let us sit till the evening of life is spent. The last hours are always the most joyous. When we can stay no longer, it is time enough then to bid each other good night, separate, and go quietly to bed. Adieu, my dear friend, yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

London, 13 July, 1765.

MY DEAR CHILD,

I had the great pleasure of hearing from you and Sally last night by the packet. I cannot now answer every particular of your letters, having many to write that are to go by this day's mail, but will by the next opportunity. Mrs. Stevenson bids me tell Sally, that the striped gown I have sent her will wash, but it must be with a light hand. I am glad to hear of Captain Robinson's arrival, and it gives me pleasure, that so many of my friends honored our new dining-room with their company. You tell me of a fault they found with the house, that it was too little, and not a word of any thing they liked in it, nor how the kitchen chimneys perform; so I suppose you

spare me some mortification, which is kind. I wonder you put up the oven without Mr. Roberts's advice, as I think you told me he had my old letter of directions; but I can add no more, only that I am very well and in good spirits. I wrote you largely by Captain Friend, and sent a case with a number of particulars. My love to all. Your affectionate husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

FROM JOSEPH GALLOWAY TO B. FRANKLIN.

Transmitting a Memorial from the Merchants of Philadelphia to the Merchants and Manufacturers in Great Britain.

Philadelphia, 29 November, 1765.

DEAR SIR,

The merchants of this city, greatly distressed with the present circumstances of their commerce, have transmitted to the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain a memorial, pointing out their difficulties and hinting at the remedies which they conceive will afford them the desired relief. They have been induced to take this step, from an expectation, that the British merchants and manufacturers, who are deeply interested in our trade, and of course in the success of this memorial, will exert their influence with the Parliament to remove the cause of the present languishing state of American commerce, so very detrimental to the interest of Britain and her colonies. This memorial is attended with a letter, referring the merchants in England to you for such information as they may stand in need of, and desiring that they will advise with you on this important occasion.

A committee of the merchants here has furnished

the committee of correspondence with a copy of their memorial, and requested they would transmit it to you, which they had agreed to do; but, as the Speaker and the rest of the committee are now out of town, I take that task on myself, and send it herewith.

Your well known attachment to the interest and welfare of America leaves our merchants no room to doubt, but that you will afford their friends in England all the advice and assistance in your power, and fully coöperate with them in the measures most proper to be pursued for restoring our commerce to its former flourishing and beneficial state.* I am, &c.

JOSEPH GALLOWAY.

FROM JOSEPH GALLOWAY TO B. FRANKLIN.

Political Pamphlets. — Popular Excitement produced by the Stamp Act. — Petition to Parliament.

Philadelphia, 13 January, 1766.

DEAR SIR,

I received your favors of September 26th and November 9th. We are sensible of the many obstructions and unavoidable difficulties, which you have met with, in proceeding on our petitions; and, from the perfect confidence we repose in you, we have not the least doubt but that every thing has been done for the obtaining the desirable object, a royal government, should it be obtained or not. The presentation of the petitions gives us great pleasure, and we hope the full orders of the present Assembly, to prosecute them to effect forthwith, will facilitate an

* This letter was likewise addressed to Richard Jackson, the joint agent for Pennsylvania.

issue upon them, and remove any difficulty that may remain with your worthy colleague; though, by his letters to the committee of correspondence, as well as to myself, he seems firmly resolved to unite with you in bringing this affair to a speedy conclusion.

I thank you sincerely for the notice you took of the piece signed "Americanus." Be assured I shall ever esteem your approbation of my conduct among the highest rewards. I have nearly finished a pamphlet on the same subject, entitled "Political Reflections on the Dispute between Great Britain and her Colonies respecting her Right of imposing Taxes on them without their Assent." I shall show it, when done, to my good friend your son, and not publish it without his approbation. Something of this kind seems absolutely necessary to allay the violent temper of the Americans, which has been so worked up as to be ready even for rebellion itself. But the difficulty will be in getting it published, the printers on the continent having combined together to print every thing inflammatory, and nothing that is rational and cool, by which means every thing that is published is *ex parte*. The people are taught to believe the greatest absurdities, and their passions are excited to a degree of resentment against the mother country, beyond all description.

Our Assembly is now sitting, and yesterday ordered to be transcribed a petition to the Commons for the repeal of the law prohibiting paper money from being lawful tender in the colonies. I hope the decency of it will recommend it to the attention of that House in these violent times, as well as its merits. And I think, if the Parliament duly weighs the effects of granting us the liberty prayed for, they will not refuse it. Without money, labor will be low; and man-

nfactures may and must from necessity be carried on in America, which must diminish our British importations. Let us have money, and we shall never think of manufacturing, or, if we do, we shall never be able to perfect it to any degree. I hope the petition will be ready to come by this conveyance.

We impatiently wait for the resolutions of the British Parliament, respecting the Stamp Act. For, while on one part, the law is prevented from being executed by the mobs in the principal colonies of America, on the other, no business is transacted in any of the courts of justice, which is attended with inexpressible mischief. A certain sect of people, if I may judge from all their late conduct, seem to look on this as a favorable opportunity of establishing their republican principles, and of throwing off all connexion with their mother country. Many of their publications justify the thought. Besides, I have other reasons to think, that they are not only forming a private union among themselves, from one end of the continent to the other, but endeavouring also to bring into their union the Quakers, and all other Dissenters, if possible. But I hope this will be impossible. In Pennsylvania I am confident it will. I am, my dear friend, with the sincerest wishes for your happiness,

Your truly affectionate humble servant,

JOSEPH GALLOWAY.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

London, 22 Feoruary, 1766.

My dear Child,

I am excessively hurried, being, every hour that I am awake, either abroad to speak with members of Parliament, or taken up with people coming to me at home concerning our American affairs, so that I am much behindhand in answering my friends' letters. But though I cannot by this opportunity write to others, I must not omit a line to you, who kindly write me so many. I am well. It is all I can say at present, except that I am just made very happy by a vote of the Commons for the repeal of the Stamp Act. Your ever loving husband,

B. Franklin.*

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

London, 27 February, 1766.

My dear Child,

I wrote you a few days ago by Mr. Penrose, by way of Maryland, when I wrote also to the Speaker, to Mr. Galloway, Mr. Hughes, and Mr. Hall. I have now as little time as then to enlarge, having wrote besides to-day so much, that I am almost blind. But, by the March packet, I shall freely answer your late letters. Let the vaults alone till my return. As you have a woodyard, perhaps they may not be necessary. I send you some curious beans for your garden. Love

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* Dr. Franklin's examination before Parliament, concerning the Stamp Act, was closed on the 13th of February, and contributed essentially towards effecting the repeal. The bill for the repeal of the Stamp Act received the royal assent on the 18th of March. For an interesting letter from him on this subject, see Vol. IV. p. 156.

to Sally, and all relations, and to all the ladies that do me the honor to inquire after me. I congratulate you on the soon expected repeal of the Stamp Act, and on the great share of health we both enjoy, though now going in fourscore, that is, in the fourth score. Mr. Whitefield called to-day, and tells me a surprising piece of news. Mr. Dunlap is come here from Barbadoes, was ordained deacon on Saturday last, and priest on Sunday. In haste, but very well. I am, my dear girl, your ever loving husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO HUGH ROBERTS.

Stamp Act. — Change of Ministry.

London, 27 February, 1766.

DEAR FRIEND,

I received your kind letter of November 27th. You cannot conceive how much good the cordial salutations of an old friend do the heart of a man so far from home, and hearing frequently of the abuses thrown on him in his absence by the enemies, that party has raised against him. In the mean time, I hope I have done even those enemies some service in our late struggle for America. It has been a hard one, and we have been often between hope and despair; but now the day begins to clear. The ministry are fixed for us, and we have obtained a majority in the House of Commons for repealing the Stamp Act, and giving us ease in every commercial grievance. God grant that no bad news of farther excesses in America may arrive to strengthen our adversaries, and weaken the hands of our friends, before this good work is quite completed.

The partisans of the late ministry have been strongly crying out *rebellion*, and calling for force to be sent against America. The consequence might have been terrible; but milder measures have prevailed. I hope, nay, I am confident, America will show itself grateful to Britain on the occasion, and behave prudently and decently.

I have got a seal done for four guineas, which I shall send by a friend. My respects to good Mrs. Roberts, and to your valuable son. Remember me affectionately to the Junto, and to all inquiring friends. Adieu, my dear friend. Your integrity will always make you happy. Believe me ever yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

Repeal of the Stamp Act. — Domestic Affairs.

London, 6 April, 1766.

MY DEAR CHILD,

As the Stamp Act is at length repealed, I am willing you should have a new gown, which you may suppose I did not send sooner, as I knew you would not like to be finer than your neighbours, unless in a gown of your own spinning. Had the trade between the two countries totally ceased, it was a comfort to me to recollect, that I had once been clothed from head to foot in woollen and linen of my wife's manufacture, that I never was prouder of any dress in my life, and that she and her daughter might do it again if it was necessary. I told the Parliament, that it was my opinion, before the old clothes of the Americans were worn out, they might have new ones of their own making. I have sent you a fine piece

Pompadour satin, fourteen yards, cost eleven shillings a yard; a silk *negligée* and petticoat of brocaded lute-string for my dear Sally, with two dozen gloves, four bottles of lavender water, and two little reels. The reels are to screw on the edge of the table, when she would wind silk or thread. The skein is to be put over them, and winds better than if held in two hands. There is also a gimcrack corkscrew, which you must get some brother gimcrack to show you the use of. In the chest is a parcel of books for my friend Mr. Coleman, and another for cousin Colbert. Pray did he receive those I sent him before? I send you also a box with three fine cheeses. Perhaps a bit of them may be left when I come home. Mrs. Stevenson has been very diligent and serviceable in getting these things together for you, and presents her best respects, as does her daughter, to both you and Sally. There are two boxes included in your bill of lading for Billy.

I received your kind letter of February 20th. It gives me great pleasure to hear, that our good old friend Mrs. Smith is on the recovery. I hope she has yet many happy years to live. My love to her. I fear, from the account you give of brother Peter, that he cannot hold out long. If it should please God, that he leaves us before my return, I would have the postoffice remain under the management of their son, till Mr. Foxcroft and I agree how to settle it.*

There are some droll prints in the box, which were given me by the painter, and, being sent when I was not at home, were packed up without my knowledge. I think he was wrong to put in Lord Bute, who had

* Peter Franklin, the last surviving brother of Dr. Franklin, died July 1st, 1766, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. He had formerly resided at Newport, Rhode Island; but, at the time of his death, he was deputy postmaster in Philadelphia.

nothing to do with the Stamp Act. But it is the fashion to abuse that nobleman, as the author of all mischief. Love to Sally and all friends. I am, my dear Debby, your affectionate husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS.

London, 28 April, 1766.

DEAR COUSIN,

I have received several of your kind favors, since my arrival in England, the last by your good brother, the subject not in the least disagreeable, as you apprehend, but in truth it has not been at all in my power to do what you desired; if for no other reason, yet for this, that there has been no vacancy.

I congratulate you on the repeal of that mother of mischiefs, the Stamp Act, and on the ease we are likely to obtain in our commerce. My time has been extremely taken up, as you may imagine, in these general affairs of America, as well as in the particular one of our province. Yet I did not forget the Armonica for cousin Josiah; but, with all my endeavours, I have not yet been able to procure one. Here is only one man that makes them well; his price no less than thirty-four guineas, and he asks forty. I bid him one hundred guineas for three; he refused it. I then agreed to give him the thirty-four guineas for one. He promised to make it, now a twelve-month since. I have called on him often, till I am tired, and do not find that he has yet done a glass of it. If I could have got this, Josiah should have had it, or mine. But I fear it will not be got at all. And I hope his waiting till my return, though it may seem long, will be no disadvantage, as all his improvement on the

organ, in the mean time, will go towards his better playing on the Armonica when he gets it.

I rejoice to hear of the welfare and increase of your family. I pray God to bless them all and you. Your affectionate uncle,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. Sister Mecom speaks very affectionately of you, and gratefully of your kindness to her in her late troubles. The bearer, Mr. Sears, is entering into business as a merchant here. He is a friend of mine, and I recommend him to your acquaintance and civilities.

FROM JOSEPH GALLOWAY TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN, GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY.

Repeal of the Stamp Act. — Fothergill's and Whitefield's Account of Dr. Franklin's Examination before the House of Commons. — Emblematical Representation.

Tuesday, 29 April, 1766.

DEAR FRIEND,

This is enclosed in a copy of my letter from your worthy father, by Mr. James Boy, whom we have sent up to communicate to you our intelligence by the packet. Mr. Thomas Wharton has a letter from a house of good credit in Boston, that, by a vessel in a short passage from London, they have *certain intelligence* that the act of repeal was read in the House of Lords a second time on the 7th of March, and that it was much approved of by the Lords, and would pass, and that in a few days it was expected it would receive the King's assent. So that I think little credit ought to be given to the two lines in the York paper, without date, contradicting this account.

It gives me a pleasure I cannot well express, to hear that Dr. Franklin was examined at the bar of the House of Commons. Dr. Fothergill writes this to William Logan, and, that he gave "such distinct, clear, and satisfactory answers to every interrogatory, and besides spoke his sentiments on the subject with such *perspicuity* and *firmness*, as did him the highest honor, and was of the greatest service to the American cause." True merit and exalted virtues may be, like the sun, overshadowed for a while; but the force and brilliancy of their rays will at length dispel the mists and break forth, notwithstanding opposing clouds and darkness. This account is also confirmed by Mr. Whitefield to Thomas Wharton. Mr. Logan has promised to send David Hall an extract, and he will publish it. Mr. Wharton will do the same. I mentioned the putting Mr. Whitefield's name as the author of the last extract. Mr. Wharton seems inclined. Would it be amiss? It will certainly put an effectual stop to the malignant lies related of Dr. Franklin's conduct, relating to the Stamp Act, and clear up his reputation to all the American world. For who dares deny Mr. Whitefield's authority? Will the church? Will the Presbyterians?*

* The following are extracts from letters written by gentlemen in London to their correspondents in America, and printed in the Philadelphia newspapers. Each letter is dated the 27th of February, 1766, but whether any one of them came from Dr. Fothergill or Mr. Whitefield is uncertain, as the names of the writers are not mentioned.

"Our worthy friend, Dr. Franklin, has gained immortal honor by his behaviour at the bar of the House. The answerer was always found equal if not superior to the questioner. He stood unappalled gave pleasure to his friends, and did honor to his country."

From another letter. "I can safely assert, from my own personal knowledge, that Dr. Franklin did all in his power to prevent the Stamp Act from passing; that he waited upon the ministry, that then was, to inform them fully of its mischievous tendency; and that he has uniformly opposed it to the utmost of his ability; and that, in a long ex-

I suspect the print, enclosed by Dr. Franklin to me and several others, is his own. It is certainly a good one, and explains the subject deeply. The lance from the thigh of New England, pointed at the breast of Britannia, is striking, as is indeed every other emblem. If you have not one enclosed to you, keep it; if you have, please to return it by the bearer.* I am in haste, yours very affectionately,

JOSEPH GALLOWAY.

FROM THOMAS WHARTON TO B. FRANKLIN.

Eminent Services of Dr. Franklin acknowledged. — Pennsylvania Hospital.

Philadelphia, 9 May, 1766.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I had the pleasure of writing thee a few lines by the packet, since which our Assembly met, and have this day adjourned to meet the 2d of June next. It is with great pleasure that I acquaint thee, that the reason for this short adjournment is, that they may take the earliest opportunity of returning to the King, Lords, and Commons, their unfeigned thanks for the repeal of the Stamp Act; the account of which, it is not doubted, will reach thee by that time. I understand the New York Assembly stands prorogued to the 20th

amination before the House of Commons within these few weeks, he asserted the rights and privileges of America with the utmost firmness, resolution, and capacity."

From another letter. "Dr. Franklin has served you greatly; he was examined at the bar of the House of Commons, and gave such clear and explicit answers to the questions proposed, and mentioned his own sentiments with so much firmness and resolution, as at once did him great credit, and served your cause not a little. I believe he has left nothing undone, that he imagined would serve his country."

* See this *Emblematical Representation* in Vol. IV. p. 456.

instant, for the same good end, and I have not a doubt but the New Jersey House will cheerfully prosecute the same steps.

We have taken the lead to publish in our papers several pieces tending to excite a prudent behaviour in the inhabitants of the continent, on their receiving the account of the repeal, and I doubt not but that our people will conduct themselves well on the occasion; and, rest assured, my friend, that the publication of sundry paragraphs of letters from London, respecting thy conduct and the eminent services thou hast done the continent in general, and this province in particular, has so effectually silenced the calumniating principles of the party, that they know not what to say. I find Dr. Fothergill's letter to W. A. has had a good effect, as I am assured he has taken some pains to instruct their people, that it would be prudent not to be over zealous on the occasion.

Our worthy friend, G. Ashbridge, has spared no pains to acquaint the country members of every thing, which could tend to rivet their affections for thee; and through the concurring circumstances, which we were enabled to acquaint them with, the storm, which was threatened by the party, vanished. Even the giant himself could scarce find any thing to vent his sentiments on, but was obliged to introduce them by asking, if the committee had letters, and what they contained; to which he was so fully answered, that he did not attempt to resume the subject.

On the 5th instant came on the election of managers for our hospital; when the same set were elected, except A. Strettell and D. Roberdeau, in the stead of H. Harrison declined, and T. Gordon removed into the country. We have admitted, this last year, four hundred and fifty-four patients, and our expenses have

amounted to upwards of sixteen hundred pounds, a sum far superior to our income; yet from the charitable disposition of our inhabitants, and some with you, especially the benevolent Dr. Fothergill, our fund is not lessened, but, if we could receive the interest arising on the money, which, in the year 1770, we are to receive from the London Land Company, it would be of particular service. Thy family are all well. I remain, &c.

THOMAS WHARTON.

TO CADWALLADER EVANS.

On the Representation of the Colonies in Parliament.

London, 9 May, 1766.

DEAR SIR,

I received your kind letter of March 3d, and thank you for the intelligence and hints it contained. I wonder at the complaint you mention. I always considered writing to the Speaker as writing to the Committee. But if it is more to their satisfaction, that I should write to them jointly, it shall be done for the future.

My private opinion concerning a union in Parliament between the two countries is, that it would be best for the whole. But I think it will never be done. For though I believe, that, if we had no more representatives than Scotland has, we should be sufficiently strong in the House to prevent, as they do for Scotland, any thing ever passing to our disadvantage; yet we are not able at present to furnish and maintain such a number, and, when we are more able, we shall be less willing than we are now. The Parliament here do at present think too highly of themselves to

admit representatives from us, if we should ask it; and, when they will be desirous of granting it, we shall think too highly of ourselves to accept of it. It would certainly contribute to the strength of the whole, if Ireland and all the dominions were united and consolidated under one common council for general purposes, each retaining its particular council or parliament for its domestic concerns. But this should have been more early provided for. In the infancy of our foreign establishments it was neglected, or was not thought of. And now the affair is nearly in the situation of Friar Bacon's project of making a brazen wall round England for its eternal security. His servant, Friar Bungey, slept while the brazen head, which was to dictate how it might be done, said *Time is*, and *Time was*. He only waked to hear it say, *Time is past*. An explosion followed, that tumbled their house about the conjuror's ears.

I hope, with you, that my being here at this juncture has been of some service to the colonies. I am sure I have spared no pains. And as to our particular affair, I am not in the least doubtful of obtaining what we so justly desire, if we continue to desire it; though the late confused state of affairs on both sides of the water has delayed our proceeding. With great esteem, I am, dear friend, yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

FROM JOSEPH GALLOWAY TO B. FRANKLIN.

Proceedings in Philadelphia on the Repeal of the Stamp Act. — The Part acted by Franklin in procuring the Repeal highly commended.

Philadelphia, 23 May, 1766.

DEAR FRIEND,

I have now the inexpressible pleasure of informing you, that we have the great news of the royal assent to the repeal of the Stamp Act. Upon its arrival, agreeably to your advice, our friends exerted their utmost endeavours to prevent any indecent marks of triumph and exultation. We opposed the intended fireworks, illuminations, and firing of cannon, and advised more temperate and private rejoicing on this great occasion. The chief justice, mayor, and recorder, with several other of the magistrates, were spoken to, but to no purpose. The city was illuminated by the proprietary party. Our friends refused to join with them, but were constantly patrolling the streets in order to preserve the peace, which prevented any great mischief. And I find, this morning, an indiscreet puff in Mr. Hall's paper on the occasion. However, I hope the indiscretion of a small part of the people of this city will not fix the complexion of the whole province.

Our Assembly meets on the 2d of June, when, you may be assured, they will send over to his Majesty and his Parliament, a most dutiful address of thanks for their care and attention to the ease and happiness of the colonies. I have fixed the measure with all the members, our friends, whose hearts cannot utter the gratitude they owe to the present virtuous and worthy ministry, for the infinite trouble and fatigue they have undergone in the arduous task of

repeal. I have now no doubt that all discontent will subside in America; for, although I am every day more and more convinced, that some people's views went farther than a repeal, and that they even wished it might not take place, in order to furnish them with a pretext for other designs, yet their number is so comparatively small, that they will, I believe, generally withdraw their intentions.

The numerous accounts we have of my dear friend's integrity and address, in procuring the repeal, give us all the greatest pleasure, and have opened the eyes of many, who entertained a contrary opinion of you, from the wicked calumnies of your enemies. Some few there are yet, who, with unwearied industry, are endeavouring by their malevolent falsehoods to injure your good name, but it will be without effect. The proprietary party never will desist from their abuse of you. With the sincerest wishes for your happiness, I am, dear Sir, &c. JOSEPH GALLOWAY.

FROM THOMAS WHARTON TO B. FRANKLIN.

Sentiments of Dr. Franklin's Friends in Pennsylvania, respecting his Manner of executing his Agency in England.

Philadelphia, 12 June, 1766.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I wrote thee a letter on the 9th, which I sent by express after Captain Egdon; but, he not reaching the vessel, I have delivered it to Captain Falconer, by whom thou wilt receive this. On the 10th we had the pleasure of finding that thou hadst wrote a letter to the Committee of Correspondence, which at once stopped the virulence of the proprietary party, and

gave them reason to apprehend, that thy great and unwearied endeavours would, to their great mortification, and our joy, be crowned with success.

I have enclosed thee a newspaper of this date, in which thou wilt find, that we rejoice, but not in such a manner as can give our enemies handle against us, and that my friend is not forgotten by a respectable part of the people, I mean the free and independent in judgment.* Hinton Brown and Dr. Fothergill have written to James Pemberton a letter, wherein they express such sentiments of thy integrity, joined with the important services thou hast rendered to this continent, as will, if possible, more endear thee to the freemen amongst us, which we intend to publish. I have also sent to thee an address, which is said to be written by John Dickinson.

The piece wrote by Dr. Fothergill, relative to the Stamp Act, does him great honor, being by us esteemed a well-done performance. I remain thy real friend,

THOMAS WHARTON.

* On the 4th of June, a large number of the citizens of Philadelphia celebrated the King's birthday, and the repeal of the Stamp Act, on the banks of the Schuylkill. A boat, called the *Franklin*, and a barge, with flying colors and fancifully decorated, came up the river in the morning to the place of the entertainment. Four hundred and thirty persons sat down to dinner, when salutes were fired from the *Franklin*, the barge, and the artillery in the city. Toasts were drunk in honor of the Royal Family, Parliament, and the principal persons engaged in procuring the repeal of the Stamp Act, one of which was, "*Our worthy and faithful agent, Dr. Franklin.*"

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

Proposed Tour to Germany.

London, 13 June, 1766.

My dear Child,

Mrs. Stevenson has made up a parcel of haberdashery for you, which will go by Captain Robinson. She will also send you another cloak, in the room of that we suppose is lost. I wrote to you, that I had been very ill lately. I am now nearly well again, but feeble. To-morrow I set out with my friend Dr. Pringle (now Sir John), on a journey to Pyrmont, where he goes to drink the waters; but I hope more from the air and exercise, having been used, as you know, to have a journey once a year, the want of which last year has, I believe, hurt me, so that, though I was not quite to say sick, I was often ailing last winter, and through the spring. We must be back at farthest in eight weeks, as my fellow traveller is the Queen's physician, and has leave for no longer, as her Majesty will then be near her time. I purpose to leave him at Pyrmont, and visit some of the principal cities nearest to it, and call for him again when the time for our return draws nigh. I am, my dear Debby, your ever loving husband,

B. Franklin.*

* In the Journals of the Pennsylvania Assembly it is mentioned, that a letter had been received from Dr. Franklin, dated June 10th, 1766, in which he had asked leave of the House to return home in the spring. No motion on the subject is recorded during the session; and, on the first day of the next session, his appointment as agent was renewed. See *Votes of the Assembly, September 9th, and October 15th*, 1766.

FROM JOSEPH GALLOWAY TO B. FRANKLIN.

American Commerce. — Currency.

Philadelphia, 16 June, 1766.

DEAR SIR,

It greatly revives the people here to find by your letter to the Committee of Correspondence, that our petitions for a royal government will be proceeded on, as soon as the general affairs of the colonies are settled. The Proprietor, Thomas Penn, in the winter, wrote so positive and circumstantial a letter, respecting its being laid aside for ever, that it greatly dismayed them, till your letter to the contrary was made known. This rendered them more easy.

I am greatly rejoiced at the intended regulations of the American commerce, and, particularly, at the design of making Dominica a free port. The most extensive advantages will flow from the taking off every incumbrance on the trade with the Spaniards; and, perhaps will, in some small degree, relieve us from the distress we suffer for want of a medium of trade of our own. But I fear it will not effectually do it, as the gold and silver we may smuggle from the Spaniard will, like the birds of passage, continue but a small time among us, and take their flight to the mother country, in lieu of her manufactures. A currency of our own, permanent, and fixed in its value, seems, therefore, necessary to our commerce, and will enable us with less reserve to ship home the money we receive from abroad. I wish the colonies could be gratified in this matter this year, because it would enable them to pay, not only their colony debts with more punctuality, but those also to Britain, which, at present, they are really not able to do, without breaking up a

multitude of good livers and reputable families. But, my dear friend, so much has been done for us this year, that our hearts ought to be filled with gratitude instead of murmurs. And what remains to be done should be waited for with a decent and respectful patience.*

* Not long after Dr. Franklin's return to England, he wrote a very able paper in defence of the colonial paper currency, in reply to a report of Lord Hillsborough to the Board of Trade. See Vol. II. p. 340. He was perfectly acquainted with the subject, both in regard to the history of paper currency in America, and its practical operation. The following summary of principles, and scheme for fixing the value of the paper currency in the colonies, have been found among Franklin's papers, and they bear strong marks of having proceeded from his pen. At any rate, they are drawn up with so much precision and judgment, and in so condensed a form, that they may very properly be added here as an illustration of the subject. In the prefatory remarks it is said; "By the resolutions of the House of Commons it appears to be their opinion, that the issuing of paper currencies in the American colonies has been prejudicial to the trade of Great Britain, by causing a confusion in dealings and a lessening of credit in those parts; and that there is reason to apprehend, that some measures will be fallen upon to hinder and restrain any future emissions of such currencies when those now extant shall be called in and sunk. But if any scheme could be formed for fixing and ascertaining the value of paper bills of credit in all future emissions, it may be presumed such restraints will be taken off, as the confusions complained of in dealings would thereby be avoided." The author then proceeds to make the following statements.

"1. Every man that is concerned in trade, whose imports and exports are not exactly equal, must either draw bills of exchange on Great Britain, or our neighbouring colonies, or buy bills to send thither to balance his accounts.

"2. The exports and imports in any colony may be managed by different hands, and the number of those chiefly employed in the latter may greatly exceed the number of those employed in the former Hence it is evident, there may sometimes be many buyers and few sellers of bills of exchange, even while the exports may exceed in value the imports; and it is easy to conceive, that, in this case, exchange may rise.

"3. The British merchants, who trade to the colonies, are often unacquainted with the advantages that may be made by the building of ships there, or by the commodities of those colonies carried to the West Indies, or to foreign markets; and for that reason frequently

It may not be amiss to inform you, that the proprietary party give out, that they have assurances from the Proprietors, that they never will consent to a sur-

order all their remittances in bills of exchange, though less advantageous, which must increase the demand for bills and enhance the price of them.

"4. A great demand in Europe for any of the commodities of the colonies, and large orders for those commodities from the British merchants to their traders here, with directions to draw for the value, may occasion exchange to fall for a time, even though the imports should be greater than the exports.

"5. Hence it appears, that a sudden great demand for bills in the colonies may, at any time, advance the exchange; and a sudden great demand abroad for their commodities may cause the exchange to fall.

"6. Gold and silver will always rise and fall very nearly in proportion as exchange rises and falls, being only wanted, in those colonies that have a paper currency, for the same use as bills of exchange, that is, for remittances to England.

"7. When few people can draw on England, or furnish those who want remittances with gold or silver, paper currency may fall with respect to sterling money and gold and silver, by which the British merchants always judge of it; and yet keep up to its original value in respect to all other things.

"8. From all these considerations I think it appears, that the rising or falling of the exchange can be no sure rule for discovering on which side the balance of trade lies, because the exchange may be affected by various accidents independent thereof; but, in order to determine this point with more certainty, it should be considered;

"9. That whatever is imported must, first or last, be paid for in the produce or manufactures of the country. If the commodities exported in one year be not sufficient to pay for what is imported, the deficiency must be made up by exporting more in succeeding years; otherwise the colony becomes debtor for so much as the deficiency is, which at last must be discharged, if it is ever discharged, by their lands.

"10. If this has been the case with any colony, or if the debt of the colony to Great Britain has been increasing for several years successively, it is a demonstration that the balance of trade is against it; but, on the contrary, if the debt to Great Britain is lessening yearly, or not increasing, it is as evident that the balance of trade is not against it, notwithstanding the currency of that colony may be falling gradually all the while.

"These principles being established, the following scheme may be adopted for fixing the value of a paper currency, viz.

"1. Let it be supposed, that, in some one of the colonies, the sum of £110,000 in bills of credit was proposed to be struck, and all other currencies to be called in and destroyed; and that £133 6*s.* 8*d.* in these bills should be equivalent to £100 sterling; which likewise would

render of the government, without giving their friends twelve months' notice, that they may provide for themselves; I suppose, by obtaining all their commissions

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make the said bills equal to foreign coins at the rates settled by the act of Parliament made in the 6th year of Queen Anne.

"2. Let £100,000 be emitted on loan upon good securities, either in land or plate, according to the method used in Pennsylvania; the borrowers to pay five per cent per annum interest, together with one twentieth part of the principal, which would give the government an opportunity of sinking it by degrees, if any alteration in the circumstances of the province should make it necessary; but, if no such necessity appeared, so much of the principal, as should be paid in, might be reëmitted on the same terms as before.

"3. The other £10,000 to be laid out in such commodities as should be most likely to yield a profit at foreign markets, to be shipped off on account of the colony, in order to raise a fund or bank in England; which sum, so laid out, would in two years' time, be returned into the office again by the interest money.

"4. The trustees or managers of this bank to be empowered and directed to supply all persons, that should apply to them, with bills of exchange, to be drawn on the colony's banker in London, at the aforesaid rate of £133 6*s*. 8*d*. of the said bills of credit for £100 sterling. The moneys thus brought in to be laid out again as before, and replaced in England in the said bank with all convenient speed. And as these provincial bills would have at least as good a credit as those of any private person, every man, who had occasion to draw, would of course be obliged to dispose of his bills at the same rate.

"5. The trustees might further be empowered and directed to take in foreign coins, at the rates prescribed by the act of Parliament, from those who wanted to change them for paper currency, and to rechange for those who wanted gold and silver. This, it is imagined, might reduce those coins again to a currency, which now are only bought and sold as a commodity. Or, if it should be judged more advantageous to the credit of the paper currency, a part of the proceeds of what should be sent abroad might be returned into the province in gold and silver for creating a fund there.

"6. I hope it will appear, upon examining into the circumstances of the paper money colonies, by the rule proposed above, that the balance of trade has not been so much against them as is commonly imagined, but that the fall of their currency, with respect to sterling and to gold and silver, has been chiefly occasioned either by some such accidents as are above showed to influence it, which by this scheme will be all prevented, or by their being issued without any good foundation for supporting their credit, such as a land security, &c. However that be, I think there can be no room, upon our plan, to fear that the credit of the paper currency can be injured, even though the balance of trade were against the colony, while their bank in London can be duly supported."

during good behaviour, which I conclude will not be agreeable to the crown. I am, as ever, my dear friend, yours affectionately,

JOSEPH GALLOWAY.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

Descendants from his Grandfather in England. — Latin Letter from Frederic Hartmann.

London, 11 October, 1766.

MY DEAR CHILD,

I received your kind little letter of August 26th, by the packet. Scarce any one else wrote to me by that opportunity. I suppose they imagined I should not be returned from Germany. Pray did you ever get the letters and cambric I sent you by Mr. Yates? You told me he had lost them, but hoped to find them again. You do not say in any of your subsequent letters whether he found them, or whether our generous adversaries have got them, and keep them for their own amusement, as you know they did some of my former letters. I wish you would always mention the dates of the letters you receive from me; for then, as I generally keep copies, I should know what get to hand, and what miscarry.

I grieve for the loss of dear Miss Ross. She was indeed an amiable girl. It must be a great affliction to her parents and friends. In my last I desired you to get Mr. Rhoads to send me a little sketch of the lot and wall; but I have since found one he sent me before; so it is not necessary; only tell me whether it takes in part of the late controverted lot, and how high it comes on both sides, and whereabouts the

wall is. By the way, you never have told me what the award was. I wish I could see a copy of it.

There are but two Franklins remaining in England, descended from my grandfather; to wit, my uncle John's grandson, Thomas Franklin, who is a dyer at Lutterworth in Leicestershire, and has a daughter about thirteen years of age, named Sally. He brought her to town to see me in the spring, and Mrs. Stevenson persuaded him to leave the child under her care for a little schooling and improvement, while I went abroad. When I returned, I found her indeed much improved, and grown a fine girl. She is sensible, and of a sweet, obliging temper, but is now ill of a violent fever, and I doubt we shall lose her, which particularly afflicts Mrs. Stevenson, not only as she has contracted a great affection for the child, but as it was she that persuaded her father to leave her here. Mrs. Stevenson presents her best respects. Polly is gone home to her aunt's at Kensington. My love to our children and all inquiring friends. I am your ever loving husband,

B. FRANKLIN.*

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* He had recently made a tour in Germany, accompanied by Sir John Pringle, as intimated in a preceding letter. He visited Hanover, Göttingen, and some of the other principal cities and universities, and received many flattering attentions from distinguished persons. The following letter affords a favorable testimony of the estimation in which he was held by learned men in Germany.

"VIRO SUMME REVERENDO, FRANKLINO, S. P. D. JOANNES FRIEDERICUS HARTMANNUS.

"Sæpe mihi rediit jucundissima ejus recordatio diei, quo visere te atque colloqui ecum primum licuit. Vehementer, credo mihi, de eo doleo, quod, utut tum erant temporis locique rationes, et machinas electricas et experimenta ita tibi conspicienda offerre non poteram, ut digna tanti tamque docti viri observatione essent. Noli existimare, in me aliquid culpæ positum fuisse. Princeps Schwarzburg Rudolstadiensis qui pro suo in litteris amore epistolarum mecum habet commercium cum accepisset, te in itinere per Germaniam constitutum esse, nihil

TO LORD KAMES.

On the Disputes between England and America. — Political Relations between the Colonies and the Mother Country. — Injudicious Act of Parliament, requiring the Colonies to provide for Soldiers. — Future Prospects of America.

London, 11 April, 1767.

MY DEAR LORD,

I received your obliging favor of January the 19th. You have kindly relieved me from the pain I had long been under. You are goodness itself. I ought to have answered yours of December 25th, 1765. I never received a letter, that contained sentiments more suitable to my own. It found me under much agitation of mind on the very important subject it treated. It fortified me greatly in the judgment I was inclined to form, though contrary to the general vogue, on

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magis in votis habuit, quam ut colloqui tecum copia sibi fieret; eâque de causâ virum quemdem doctum, amicum suum, Gottingam miserat, te ut suo nomine salutaret. Iste vero ipso die primum Gottingam pervenit, quo tu urbem istam reliqueras; itaque spe tui visendi dejectus est.

"Inter hæc quidam in Germania Princeps a me expetiit, ut machinas ad deducenda ex ædificiis fulmina in suis terris construendas curarem; quâ de re summis abs te precibus contendo, ut eam rationem, quâ tu in Americâ hunc in finem usus es, accuratius describas. Ita fiet, ut popularibus meis valde prosis; et summum ceteros apud illos adipiscaris honorem.

"Animus mihi est, historiam Electricitatis, quantum ego valeo, plenam conficere. Jam cum hac in re nemo ferè majus te nomen habet, communices mecum velim, quæ de experimentis atque inventionibus tuis imprimis memoriâ digna videntur. Equidem non nego, valde audacter me ex te petere, sed semper timido mihi succurrit humanitas tua, et, quod in summâ felicitatis meæ parte posuerim, animus tuus in me propensus.

"Si quid ego te juvare possim, promtum me habebis atque paratissimum. Ita vale faveque.

"Dabam Hannoveræ, MDCCLXVII. Calendis Octobris."

the then delicate and critical situation of affairs between Great Britain and the colonies, and on that weighty point, their *union*. You guessed aright in supposing that I would not be a *mute in that play*. I was extremely busy, attending members of both Houses, informing, explaining, consulting, disputing, in a continual hurry from morning till night, till the affair was happily ended. During the course of its being called before the House of Commons, I spoke my mind pretty freely. Enclosed I send you the imperfect account that was taken of that examination.* You will there see how entirely we agree, except in a point of fact, of which you could not but be misinformed; the papers at that time being full of mistaken assertions, that the colonies had been the cause of the war, and had ungratefully refused to bear any part of the expense of it.

I send it you now, because I apprehend some late accidents are likely to revive the contest between the two countries. I fear it will be a mischievous one. It becomes a matter of great importance, that clear ideas should be formed on solid principles, both in

* Examination of Dr. Franklin in the British House of Commons respecting the Stamp Act. See Vol. IV. p. 161. This EXAMINATION was published in 1767, and the following remarks upon it are contained in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July of that year. "From this examination of Dr. Franklin, the reader may form a clearer and more comprehensive idea of the state and disposition of America, of the expediency or inexpediency of the measure in question, and of the character and conduct of the minister who proposed it, than from all that has been written upon the subject in newspapers and pamphlets, under the titles of essays, letters, speeches, and considerations, from the first moment of its becoming the object of public attention till now. The questions in general are put with great subtilty and judgment, and they are answered with such deep and familiar knowledge of the subject, such precision and perspicuity, such temper and yet such spirit, as do the greatest honor to Dr. Franklin, and justify the general opinion of his character and abilities."

Britain and America, of the true political relation between them, and the mutual duties belonging to that relation. Till this is done, they will be often jarring. I know none whose knowledge, sagacity, and impartiality qualify him so thoroughly for such a service as yours do you. I wish, therefore, you would consider it. You may thereby be the happy instrument of great good to the nation, and of preventing much mischief and bloodshed. I am fully persuaded with you, that a *consolidating union*, by a fair and equal representation of all the parts of this empire in Parliament, is the only firm basis on which its political grandeur and prosperity can be founded. Ireland once wished it, but now rejects it. The time has been, when the colonies might have been pleased with it; they are now *indifferent* about it; and, if it is much longer delayed, they too will *refuse* it. But the pride of this people cannot bear the thought of it, and therefore it will be delayed. Every man in England seems to consider himself as a piece of a sovereign over America; seems to jostle himself into the throne with the King, and talks of *our subjects in the colonies.* The Parliament cannot well and wisely make laws suited to the colonies, without being properly and truly informed of their circumstances, abilities, temper, &c. This it cannot be without representatives from thence; and yet it is fond of this power, and averse to the only means of acquiring the necessary knowledge for exercising it; which is desiring to be *omnipotent*, without being *omniscient.**

I have mentioned, that the contest is likely to be revived. It is on this occasion. In the same session

* Among Dr. Franklin's manuscripts I find a paper, entitled "A Plan of Union by admitting Representatives from the American Colonies and from Ireland into the British Parliament." It is not in his hand

with the Stamp Act, an act was passed to regulate the quartering of soldiers in America; when the bill was first brought in, it contained a clause, empowering the officers to quarter their soldiers in private houses; this we warmly opposed, and got it omitted. The bill passed, however, with a clause, that empty houses, barns, &c., should be hired for them; and that

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writing, and it appears to have been communicated to him by some other person. The following is an outline of the scheme.

America.		Ireland.	
For the House of Commons.		*For the House of Commons.*	
Massachusetts Bay, Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina, Jamaica, each four,	20	Each Province four members,	16
New York, Maryland, Canada, each three,	9	Dublin,	2
Connecticut, New Jersey, each two,	4	Cork, Kinsale, Waterford, Limerick, Kilkenny, Wicklow, Wexford, one each,	7
New Hampshire, Nova Scotia, Rhode Island, Lower Counties of Pennsylvania, Georgia, West Florida, East Florida, North Carolina, each one,	8	Dundalk, Drogheda, Younghale,	2
Barbadoes, Antigua, St. Christopher's, Bahamas, each one,	4	Galway, Belfast, Londonderry, one each,	3
Bermuda, Montserrat, Nevis, each to choose in rotation for the whole,	1		30
Grenada,	2	Lords for the principal Provinces and Islands, as soon as found convenient, to be created by the royal prerogative,	10
Newfoundland and St. John's	1	A proportionate number of Lords, to be elected by the Irish Lords from among themselves,	10
Dominica, St. Vincent's, and Tobago,	1		
	50	Making in the whole,	100

The mode of election in the colonies was to be left to the Assemblies. Provision was to be made, also, that neither the colonies nor Ireland should be taxed for protection and defence separately or apart from England; and that the revenue arising from the regulations of colonial trade should be exclusively appropriated to the particular uses of the colonies, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of civil government and other colonial charges.

the respective provinces, where they were, should pay the expense and furnish firing, bedding, drink, and some other articles to the soldiers, *gratis*. There is no way for any province to do this but by the Assembly's making a law to raise the money. The Pennsylvania Assembly has made such a law; the New York Assembly has refused to do it; and now all the talk here is, of sending a force to compel them.

The reasons given by the Assembly to the governor for the refusal are, that they understand the act to mean the furnishing such things to soldiers, only while on their march through the country, and not to great bodies of soldiers, to be fixed, as at present, in the province, the burden in the latter case being greater than the inhabitants can bear; that it would put it in the power of the captain-general to oppress the province at pleasure, &c. But there is supposed to be another reason at bottom, which they intimate, though they do not plainly express it; to wit, that it is of the nature of an *internal tax* laid on them by Parliament, which has no right so to do. Their refusal is here called *rebellion*, and punishment is thought of.

Now waving that point of right, and supposing the legislatures in America subordinate to the legislature of Great Britain, one might conceive, I think, a power in the superior legislature to forbid the inferior legislatures making particular laws; but to enjoin it to make a particular law, contrary to its own judgment, seems improper; an Assembly or Parliament not being an *executive* officer of government, whose duty it is, in law-making, to obey orders, but a *deliberative* body, who are to consider what comes before them, its propriety, practicability, or possibility, and to determine accordingly. The very nature of a Parliament seems

to be destroyed by supposing it may be bound and compelled, by a law of a superior Parliament, to make a law contrary to its own judgment.

Indeed, the act of Parliament in question has not, as in other acts when a duty is enjoined, directed a penalty on neglect or refusal, and a mode of recovering that penalty. It seems, therefore, to the people in America, as a mere requisition, which they are at liberty to comply with or not, as it may suit or not suit the different circumstances of the different provinces. Pennsylvania has therefore voluntarily complied. New York, as I said before, has refused. The ministry that made the act, and all their adherents, call for vengeance. The present ministry are perplexed, and the measures they will finally take on the occasion are yet unknown. But sure I am, that, if *force* is used, great mischief will ensue; the affections of the people of America to this country will be alienated; your commerce will be diminished; and a total separation of interests will be the final consequence.

It is a common, but mistaken notion here, that the colonies were planted at the expense of Parliament, and that therefore the Parliament has a right to tax them, &c. The truth is, they were planted at the expense of private adventurers, who went over there to settle, with leave of the King, given by charter. On receiving this leave, and those charters, the adventurers voluntarily engaged to remain the King's subjects, though in a foreign country; a country which had not been conquered by either King or Parliament, but was possessed by a free people.

When our planters arrived, they purchased the lands of the natives, without putting King or Parliament to any expense. Parliament had no hand in their settlement, was never so much as consulted about their

constitution, and took no kind of notice of them, till many years after they were established. I except only the two modern colonies, or rather attempts to make colonies, (for they succeed but poorly, and as yet hardly deserve the name of colonies,) I mean Georgia and Nova Scotia, which have hitherto been little better than Parliamentary jobs. Thus all the colonies acknowledge the King as their sovereign; his governors there represent his person; laws are made by their Assemblies or little parliaments, with the governor's assent, subject still to the King's pleasure to affirm or annul them. Suits arising in the colonies, and between colony and colony, are determined by the King in Council. In this view, they seem so many separate little states, subject to the same prince. The sovereignty of the King is therefore easily understood. But nothing is more common here than to talk of the *sovereignty* of PARLIAMENT, and the sovereignty of this nation over the colonies; a kind of sovereignty, the idea of which is not so clear, nor does it clearly appear on what foundation it is established. On the other hand, it seems necessary for the common good of the empire, that a power be lodged somewhere, to regulate its general commerce; this can be placed nowhere so properly as in the Parliament of Great Britain; and therefore, though that power has in some instances been executed with great partiality to Britain and prejudice to the colonies, they have nevertheless always submitted to it. Custom-houses are established in all of them, by virtue of laws made here, and the duties instantly paid, except by a few smugglers, such as are here and in all countries; but internal taxes laid on them by Parliament are still and ever will be objected to, for the reason that you will see in the mentioned examination.

Upon the whole, I have lived so great a part of my life in Britain, and have formed so many friendships in it, that I love it, and sincerely wish it prosperity; and therefore wish to see that union, on which alone I think it can be secured and established. As to America, the advantages of such a union to her are not so apparent. She may suffer at present under the arbitrary power of this country; she may suffer for a while in a separation from it; but these are temporary evils which she will outgrow. Scotland and Ireland are differently circumstanced. Confined by the sea, they can scarcely increase in numbers, wealth, and strength, so as to overbalance England. But America, an immense territory, favored by nature with all advantages of climate, soils, great navigable rivers, lakes, &c., must become a great country, populous and mighty; and will, in a less time than is generally conceived, be able to shake off any shackles that may be imposed upon her, and perhaps place them on the imposers. In the mean time every act of oppression will sour their tempers, lessen greatly, if not annihilate, the profits of your commerce with them, and hasten their final revolt; for the seeds of liberty are universally found there, and nothing can eradicate them. And yet there remains among that people so much respect, veneration, and affection for Britain, that, if cultivated prudently, with a kind usage and tenderness for their privileges, they might be easily governed still for ages, without force or any considerable expense. But I do not see here a sufficient quantity of the wisdom, that is necessary to produce such a conduct, and I lament the want of it.*

* Mr. Tytler, in a note on this letter, after stating the views of Lord Kames on the controversy between Great Britain and the colonies, says, "But, if such were the sentiments of Lord Kames on the ques-

I borrowed at Millar's the new edition of your *Principles of Equity*, and have read with great pleasure the preliminary discourse on the principles of morality. I have never before met with any thing so satisfactory on the subject. While reading it, I made a few remarks as I went along. They are not of much importance, but I send you the paper.

I know the lady you mention (Mrs. Montague); having, when in England before, met her once or twice at Lord Bath's. I remember I then entertained the same opinion of her that you express. On the strength of your recommendation, I purpose soon to wait on her.

This is unexpectedly grown a long letter. The visit to Scotland, and the *Art of Virtue*, we will talk

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tion of right between Britain and her colonies, it appears, that, on viewing the matter in the light of expediency, he had very early formed an opinion, that, in the relative situation of the two countries, and looking to the probable chance of increasing animosities, and matters being driven to extremity, either by the erring policy or factious views of some of the leaders in both, it would be a wise measure in the British government to wave the question of strict right, and to consent freely to a consolidating union with America, by giving that country a full representation in Parliament. On this subject he had written to Dr. Franklin as early as the end of the year 1765, at the time when the first intelligence arrived in this country of the disorders occasioned by the attempts to carry the Stamp Act into execution; and he had written a second letter to him on the same subject, in the beginning of 1767. Dr. Franklin's answer to these letters is extremely interesting, and affords a striking specimen of the profound sagacity and foresight of that extraordinary man."

Mr. Tytler adds; "This excellent letter, as appears by a subsequent one, from the same hand, was in all probability intercepted, as it was not received by Lord Kames in the regular course of communication. Dr. Franklin, however, having preserved a copy, transmitted it two years afterwards to his correspondent. The opinions it conveyed were thus probably well known to the persons at the head of administration. It had been happy, if they had paid them that attention, which the wisdom of the counsels they contained deserved." — TYTLER'S *Life of Lord Kames*, Vol. II. 2d ed. pp. 99, 112.

of hereafter. It is now time to say, that I am, with increasing esteem and affection, my dear friend, yours ever, B. FRANKLIN.

TO CADWALLADER EVANS.

Medical Library at the Hospital. — Lord Chatham. — Manufactures.

London, 5 May, 1767.

DEAR DOCTOR,

I received your obliging favor of May 16th. I am always glad to hear from you, when you have leisure to write, and I expect no apologies for your not writing. I wish all correspondence was on the foot of writing and answering when one can, or when one is disposed to it, without the compulsions of ceremony. I am pleased with your scheme of a Medical Library at the Hospital; and I fancy I can procure you some donations among my medical friends here, if you will send me a catalogue of what books you already have. Enclosed I send you the only book of the kind in my possession here, having just received it as a present from the author. It is not yet published to be sold, and will not be for some time, till the second part is ready to accompany it.

I thank you for your remarks on the gout. They may be useful to me, who have already had some touches of that distemper. As to Lord Chatham, it is said that his constitution is totally destroyed and gone, partly through the violence of the disease, and partly by his own continual quacking with it. There is at present no access to him. He is said to be not capable of receiving, any more than of giving, advice. But still there is such a deference paid to him, that

much business is delayed on his account, that so when entered on it may have the strength of his concurrence, or not be liable to his reprehension, if he should recover his ability and activity. The ministry, we at present have, has not been looked upon, either by itself or others, as settled, which is another cause of postponing every thing not immediately necessary to be considered. New men, and perhaps new measures, are often expected and apprehended, whence arise continual cabals, factions, and intrigues among the outs and ins, that keep every thing in confusion. And when affairs will mend is very uncertain. With great esteem I am, dear friend, yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.*

* In the preceding volume (Vol. VI. p. 278), there is a letter to Dr. Evans, dated February 20th, 1768, which was printed from William T. Franklin's edition of the author's writings; but, as I have since discovered that the letter is there abridged and marred, the part so abridged is here inserted as it has recently been published from the original in the *Philadelphia Gazette*. — "The Boston people," says Dr. Franklin, "pretending to interfere with the manufactures of this country, makes a great clamor here against America in general. I have endeavoured, therefore, to palliate matters a little in several public papers. It would, as you justly observe, give less umbrage if we meddled only with such manufactures as England does not attend to. That of linen might be carried on more or less in every family, (perhaps it can only do in a family way,) and silk I think in most of the colonies. But there are many manufactures that we cannot carry on to advantage, though we were at entire liberty. And, after all, this country is fond of manufactures beyond their real value; for the true source of riches is husbandry. Agriculture is truly *productive* of *new wealth*; manufactures only change forms; and whatever value they give to the material they work upon, they in the mean time consume an equal value in provisions, &c. So that riches are not *increased* by manufacturing; the only advantage is, that provisions in the shape of manufactures are more easily carried for sale to foreign markets. And where the provisions cannot be easily carried to market, it is well so to transform them for our own use, as well as foreign sale. In families also, where the children and servants of farmers have some spare time, it is well to employ it in making something; and, in spinning or knitting, &c., to *gather up the fragments* (of time), *that nothing may be lost*; for

TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY.*

Legal Tender of Paper Money. — Mr. Grenville's Scheme of a Revenue. — Mr. Townshend. — Prejudice in Parliament against the Colonies. — Petition of the Pennsylvania Merchants proposed. — Salt Duty. — Bill for suspending the Legislatures of New York and Georgia.

London, 13 June, 1767.

DEAR SIR,

In my last of May 20th, I mentioned my hopes, that we should at length get over all obstructions to the repeal of the act restraining the legal tender of paper money; but those hopes are now greatly lessened.

The ministry had agreed to the repeal, and the notion that had possessed them, that they might make a revenue from paper money in appropriating the interest by Parliament, was pretty well removed by my assuring them, that it was my opinion no colony would make money on those terms, and that the benefits arising to the commerce of this country in America from a plentiful currency would therefore be lost, and the repeal answer no end, if the Assemblies were not

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those fragments, though small in themselves, amount to something great in the year, and the family must eat, whether they work or are idle.

"But this nation seems to have increased the number of its manufactures beyond reasonable bounds, (for there are bounds to every thing,) whereby provisions are now risen to an exorbitant price by the demand for supplying home mouths; so that there may be an importation from foreign countries; but the expense of bringing provisions from abroad to feed manufacturers here will so enhance the price of the manufactures, that they may be made cheaper where the provisions grow, and the mouths will go to the meat."

* In the month of October, 1766, Mr. Galloway was chosen Speaker of the Assembly, in which office he continued till the beginning of the revolution, so that the correspondence between him and Dr. Franklin hereafter should be considered as chiefly of an official character.

allowed to appropriate the interest themselves; that the crown might get a great share upon occasional requisitions, I made no doubt, by voluntary appropriations of the Assemblies; but they would never establish such funds as to make themselves unnecessary to government. Those and other reasons, that were urged, seemed to satisfy them, so that we began to think all would go on smoothly, and the merchants prepared their petition, on which the repeal was to be founded. But in the House, when the chancellor of the exchequer had gone through his proposed American revenue, viz. by duties on glass, china ware, paper, pasteboard, colors, tea, &c., Grenville stood up and undervalued them all as trifles; and, says he, "I will tell the honorable gentleman of a revenue, that will produce something valuable in America; make paper money for the colonies, issue it upon loan there, take the interest, and apply it as you think proper." Mr. Townshend, finding the House listened to this and seemed to like it, stood up again and said, that was a proposition of his own, which he had intended to make with the rest, but it had slipped his memory, and the gentleman, who must have heard of it, now unfairly would take advantage of that slip and make a merit to himself of a proposition that was another's, and as a proof of it, assured the House a bill was prepared for the purpose, and would be laid before them.

This startled all our friends; and the merchants concluded to keep back their petition for a while, till things appeared a little clearer, lest their friends in America should blame them, as having furnished foundation for an act, that must have been disagreeable to the colonies. I found the rest of the ministry did not like this proceeding of the chancellor's, but there was

no going on with our scheme against his declaration, and, as he daily talked of resigning, there being no good agreement between him and the rest, and as we found the general prejudice against the colonies so strong in the House, that any thing in the shape of a favor to them all was like to meet with opposition, whether he was out or in, I proposed to Mr. Jackson the putting our colony foremost, as we stood in a pretty good light, and asking the favor for us alone. This he agreed might be proper in case the chancellor should go out, and undertook to bring in a bill for that purpose, provided the Philadelphia merchants would petition for it; and he wished to have such a petition ready to present, if an opening for it should offer. Accordingly I applied to them, and prepared a draft of a petition for them to sign, a copy of which I send you enclosed. They seemed generally for the measure; but, apprehending the merchants of the other colonies, who had hitherto gone hand in hand with us in all American affairs, might take umbrage if we now separated from them, it was thought right to call a meeting of the whole to consult upon this proposal.

At this meeting I represented to them, as the ground of this measure, that, the colonies being generally out of favor at present, any hard clause relating to paper money in the repealing bill will be more easily received in Parliament, if the bill related to all the colonies; that Pennsylvania, being in some degree of favor, might possibly alone obtain a better act than the whole could do, as it might by government be thought as good policy to show favor where there had been the reverse; that a good act obtained by Pennsylvania might another year, when the resentment against the colonies should be abated, be made use of as a precedent, &c. &c. But, after a good deal

of debate it was finally concluded not to precipitate matters, it being very dangerous by any kind of petition to furnish the chancellor with a horse on which he could put what saddle he thought fit. The other merchants seemed rather averse to the Pennsylvania merchants proceeding alone, but said they were certainly at liberty to do as they thought proper. The conclusion of the Pennsylvania merchants was to wait a while, holding the separate petition ready to sign and present, if a proper opening should appear this session, but otherwise to reserve it to the next, when the complexion of ministers and measures may probably be changed. And, as this session now draws to a conclusion, I begin to think nothing will be farther done in it this year.

Mentioning the merchants puts me in mind of some discourse I heard among them, that was by no means agreeable. It was said, that, in the opposition they gave the Stamp Act, and their endeavours to obtain the repeal, they had spent at their meetings, and in expresses to all parts of this country, and for a vessel to carry the joyful news to North America, and in the entertainments given our friends of both Houses, &c., near fifteen hundred pounds; that for all this, except from the little colony of Rhode Island, they had not received as much as a *thank ye*; that, on the contrary, the circular letters they had written with the best intentions to the merchants of the several colonies, containing their best and most friendly advice, were either answered with unkind reflections, or contemptuously left without answer; and that the captain of the vessel, whom they sent express with the news, having met with misfortunes, that obliged him to travel by land through all the colonies from New Hampshire to Pennsylvania, was everywhere

treated with neglect and contempt, instead of civility and hospitality; and nowhere more than at Philadelphia, where, though he delivered letters to the merchants, that must make him and his errand known to them, no one took the least notice of him. I own I was ashamed to hear all this, but hope there is some mistake in it. I should not have troubled you with this account, but that I think we stand in truth greatly obliged to the merchants, who are a very respectable body, and whose friendship is worth preserving, as it may greatly help us on future occasions; and therefore I wish some decent acknowledgments or thanks were sent from the Assemblies of the colonies, since their correspondents have omitted it.

I have said the less of late in my letters concerning the petitions, because I hoped this summer to have an opportunity of communicating every thing *vivâ voce*, and there are particulars that cannot safely be trusted to paper. Perhaps I may be more determined as to returning or staying another winter, when I receive my next letters from you and my other friends in Philadelphia.

We got the chancellor to drop his salt duty. And the merchants trading to Portugal and Spain, he says, have made such a clamor about the intention of suffering ships to go directly with wine, fruit, and oil, from those countries to America, that he has dropped that scheme, and we are it seems to labor a little longer under the inconveniences of the restraint.

It is said the bill to suspend the legislatures of New York and Georgia, till they comply with the act of Parliament for quartering soldiers, will pass this session. I fear that imprudencies on both sides may, step by step, bring on the most mischievous consequences. It is imagined here, that this act will enforce immediate

compliance; and, if the people should be quiet, content themselves with the laws they have, and let the matter rest, till in some future war the King wanting aids from them, and finding himself restrained in his legislation by the act as much as the people, shall think fit by his ministers to propose the repeal, the Parliament will be greatly disappointed; and perhaps it may take this turn. I wish nothing worse may happen.*

* Besides the offence given to the government by the legislature of New York, in refusing to provide for quartering soldiers, the merchants of the city of New York petitioned for the repeal of the acts of Parliament restraining the trade of the colonies. The petition was presented to Parliament and read, but was then ordered to lie on the table, and no further notice was taken of it. The conduct of the New Yorkers, on both these accounts, raised against them a great outcry in England; and Franklin, according to his custom in such cases, endeavoured to quiet the clamor and vindicate his countrymen, by an accurate representation of the circumstances in the public papers. Among his manuscripts I find a fragment of an article, which seems to relate to this occasion, signed "*A Friend to Both Countries.*" The closing part only remains, and is as follows.

"—— or refuses to comply with an act of Parliament, is a rebel, I am afraid we have many more rebels among us than we are aware of; among others, they that have not registered the weights of their plate, and paid the duty, are all rebels; and these, I think, are not a few; to whom may be added the acting rebels that wear French silks and cambrics.

"As to the petition mentioned above, I have been informed it is from a number of private persons, merchants of New York, stating their opinion, that several restraints in the acts of trade, laid on the commerce of the colonies, are not only prejudicial to the colonies, but to the mother country. They give their reasons for this opinion. These reasons are to be judged of here. If they are found to be good, and supported by facts, one would think, that, instead of censure, those merchants might deserve thanks. If otherwise, the petition may be laid aside. Petitioning is not rebellion. The very nature of a petition acknowledges the power it petitions to, and the subjection of the petitioner.

"But, in party views, molehills are often magnified to mountains; and, when the wolf is determined on a quarrel with the lamb, up stream or down stream is all one. Pretences are easily found or made. Reason and justice are out of the question."

The present ministry will probably continue through this session. But their disagreement, with the total inability of Lord Chatham, through sickness, to do any business, must bring on some change before next winter. I wish it may be for the better, but fear the contrary.

Please to present my dutiful respects to the Assembly, and believe me ever, dear Sir, your and the Committee's most obedient and faithful humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.

Craven Street, 17 June, 1767.

We were greatly disappointed yesterday, that we had not the pleasure, promised us, of our dear Polly's company. Your good mother would have me write a line in answer to your letter. A muse, you must know, visited me this morning! I see you are surprised, as I was. I never saw one before, and shall never see another, so I took the opportunity of her help to put the answer into verse, because I was some verse in your debt ever since you sent me the last pair of garters.

This muse appeared to be no housewife. I suppose few of them are. She was *dressed* (if the expression is allowable) in an *undress*, a kind of slatternly *negligée*, neither neat nor clean, nor well made; and she has given the same sort of dress to my piece. On reviewing it, I would have reformed the lines, and made them all of a length, as I am told lines ought to be; but I find I cannot lengthen the short ones without stretching them on the rack, and I think it would be equally cruel to cut off any part of the

long ones. Besides the superfluity of *these* makes up for the deficiency of *those;* and so, from a principle of justice, I leave them at full length, that I may give you, at least in one sense of the word, *good measure.* Adieu, my dear good girl, and believe me ever your affectionate, faithful friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

Economical Advice. — On the proposed Marriage of his Daughter.

London, 22 June, 1767.

MY DEAR CHILD,

Captain Falconer is arrived, and came yesterday to see me and bring my letters. I was extremely glad of yours, because I had none by the packet. It seems now as if I should stay here another winter, and therefore I must leave it to your judgment to act in the affair of our daughter's match, as shall seem best. If you think it a suitable one, I suppose the sooner it is completed the better. In that case I would advise, that you do not make an expensive feasting wedding, but conduct every thing with frugality and economy, which our circumstances now require to be observed in all our expenses. For, since my partnership with Mr. Hall is expired, a great source of our income is cut off; and, if I should lose the postoffice, which, among the many changes here, is far from being unlikely, we should be reduced to our rents and interest of money for a subsistence, which will by no means afford the chargeable housekeeping and entertainments we have been used to.

For my own part, I live here as frugally as possible not to be destitute of the comforts of life, making no dinners for anybody and contenting myself with a single dish when I dine at home; and yet such is the dearness of living here in every article, that my expenses amaze me. I see, too, by the sums you have received in my absence, that yours are very great; and I am very sensible that your situation naturally brings you a great many visiters, which occasions an expense not easily to be avoided, especially when one has been long in the practice and habit of it. But, when people's incomes are lessened, if they cannot proportionably lessen their outgoings, they must come to poverty. If we were young enough to begin business again, it might be another matter; but I doubt we are past it, and business not well managed ruins one faster than no business. In short, with frugality and prudent care we may subsist decently on what we have, and leave it entire to our children; but without such care we shall not be able to keep it together; it will melt away like butter in the sunshine, and we may live long enough to feel the miserable consequences of our indiscretion.

I know very little of the gentleman or his character, nor can I at this distance. I hope his expectations are not great of any fortune to be had with our daughter before our death. I can only say, that, if he proves a good husband to her and a good son to me, he shall find me as good a father as I can be; but at present, I suppose you would agree with me, that we cannot do more than fit her out handsomely in clothes and furniture, not exceeding in the whole five hundred pounds of value. For the rest, they must depend, as you and I did, on their own industry and care, as what remains in our hands will be barely sufficient

for our support, and not enough for them when it comes to be divided at our decease.

Sally Franklin is well. Her father, who had not seen her for a twelvemonth, came lately and took her home with him for a few weeks to see her friends. He is very desirous I should take her with me to America.

I suppose the blue room is too blue, the wood being of the same color with the paper, and so looks too dark. I would have you finish it as soon as you can, thus; paint the wainscoat a dead white; paper the walls blue, and tack the gilt border round just above the surbase and under the cornice. If the paper is not equally colored when pasted on, let it be brushed over again with the same color, and let the *papier maché* musical figures be tacked to the middle of the ceiling. When this is done, I think it will look very well.

I am glad to hear that Sally keeps up and increases the number of her friends. The best wishes of a fond father for her happiness always attend her. I am, my dear Debby, your affectionate husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO SAMUEL FRANKLIN, BOSTON.*

Family Connexions in England.

London, 17 July, 1767.

DEAR COUSIN,

I should sooner have answered your kind letter of last year, but postponed it from time to time, having mislaid the print I intended to send you, which I have now found and send herewith. I am glad to

* Samuel Franklin was the grandson of Benjamin Franklin, who was Dr. Franklin's uncle, and after whom he was named.

hear of the welfare of yourself and your family, which I hope will long continue. My love to them all.

It gives me pleasure whenever I find that my endeavours to serve America are acceptable to my friends there. Your kind notices of them are very obliging.

I find here but two of our relations remaining, that bear the name of Franklin, viz. Thomas Franklin of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, a dyer, and his daughter Sally Franklin, about fourteen years of age, who has been with me in London about a year, and sends her duty to you. Thomas Franklin is the grandson of John Franklin, your grandfather's brother. There are besides still living, Eleanor Morris, an old maiden lady, daughter of your grandfather's sister Hannah; and also Hannah Walker, granddaughter of his brother John. Mrs. Walker has three sons. She lives at Westbury, in Buckinghamshire, and Mrs. Morris with her. And these are the whole. It is thought best by my friends that I should continue here another winter. My best wishes attend you, being your affectionate kinsman,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

London, 5 August, 1767.

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have now before me all your late letters, and shall answer them article by article.

Captain Ourry dined here a few days since, and thanks you for remembering him, desiring his respects to you and Sally. Mr. Strahan and family, the same. I received the bill sent by Mr. Potts, and suppose it will be duly paid. You will return him the overplus. I wish I could take my passage this time with Cap-

tain Falconer. I was on board the other day with Mr. and Mrs. West,* Mrs. Stevenson, and Mrs. Hopkinson, to drink tea. It is a fine ship, and I think it not unlikely that I may go with him next time, as he is a very kind, good friend, whom I much respect.

I am glad you go sometimes to Burlington. The harmony you mention in our family and among our children gives me great pleasure. I am sorry to hear of the death of our good old friend Debby Norris. She was a worthy good woman and will be missed. If I can in any shape be of service to Mr. Francis, you may depend I shall do it, being much concerned for his misfortune. I am told the affair is like to turn out better for him than was expected. Sally Franklin is now in the country with her father. She is an only child, and a very good girl.

I received the watch chain, which you say you send to be put to rights. I do not see what it wants. Mrs. Stevenson says it is too old-fashioned for Sally, and advised sending the watch also, to be changed away for a new watch and chain.

In your last letters you say nothing concerning Mr. Bache. The misfortune, that has lately happened to his affairs, though it may not lessen his character as an honest or a prudent man, will probably induce him to forbear entering hastily into a state, that must require a great addition to his expense, when he will be less able to supply it. If you think that, in the mean time, it will be some amusement to Sally to visit her friends here, and return with me, I should have no objection to her coming over with Captain Falconer, provided Mrs. Falconer comes at the same time, as is talked of. I think too it might be some improvement to

* Mr. Benjamin West, the painter, with whom Dr. Franklin was long on terms of intimate friendship.

her.* I am at present meditating a journey somewhere, perhaps to Bath or Bristol; as I begin to find a little giddiness in my head, a token that I want the exercise I have yearly been accustomed to. I long to see you, and be with you, being as ever, my dear Debby, your affectionate husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY.

Coalition of Parties in the Ministry. — Taxing America a popular Measure. — Experiment of Paper Money when not a Legal Tender.

London, 8 August, 1767.

DEAR SIR,

I have before me your favors of April 23d, May 21st and 26th. The confusion among our great men still continues as much as ever, and a melancholy thing it is to consider, that, instead of employing the present leisure of peace in such measures as might extend our commerce, pay off our debts, secure allies, and increase the strength and ability of the nation to support a future war, the whole seems to be wasted in party contentions about places of power and profit, in court intrigues and cabals, and in abusing one another.

There has lately been an attempt to make a kind of coalition of parties in a new ministry; but it fell through, and the present set is like to continue for some time longer, which I am rather pleased with, as some of those who were proposed to be introduced

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* She did not go to England, as is here proposed, but was married to Mr. Richard Bache on the 29th of October following. She was then twenty-three years old, having been born September 11th, 1744. She was Dr. Franklin's only daughter.

are professed adversaries to America, which is now made one of the distinctions of party here; those who have in the two last sessions shown a disposition to favor us, being called by way of reproach, Americans; while the others, adherents to Grenville and Bedford, value themselves on being true to the interests of Britain, and zealous for maintaining its dignity and sovereignty over the colonies.

This distinction will, it is apprehended, be carried much higher in the next session, for the political purpose of influencing the ensuing election. It is already given out that the compliance of New York, in providing for the quarters, without taking notice of its being done in obedience to the act of Parliament, is evasive and unsatisfactory; that it is high time to put the right and power of this country to tax the colonies out of dispute, by an act of taxation, effectually carried into execution, and that all the colonies should be obliged explicitly to acknowledge that right. Every step is taking to render the taxing of America a popular measure here, by continually insisting on the topics of our wealth and flourishing circumstances, while this country is loaded with debt, great part of it incurred on our account, the distress of the poor here by the multitude and weight of taxes, &c. &c.; and, though the traders and manufacturers may possibly be kept in our interest, the idea of an American tax is very pleasing to the landed men, who therefore readily receive and propagate these sentiments wherever they have influence.

If such a bill should be brought in, it is hard to say what would be the event of it, or what would be the effects. Those who oppose it, though they should be strong enough to throw it out, would be stigmatized as Americans, betrayers of Old England, &c., and

perhaps, our friends by this means being excluded, a majority of our adversaries may get in, and then the act infallibly passes the following session. To avoid the danger of such exclusion, perhaps little opposition will be given, and then it passes immediately. I know not what to advise on this occasion, but that we should all do our endeavours on both sides of the water to lessen the present unpopularity of the American cause, conciliate the affections of people here towards us, increase by all possible means the number of our friends, and be careful not to weaken their hands and strengthen those of our enemies by rash proceedings on our side, the mischiefs of which are inconceivable. Some of our friends have thought that a publication of my *Examination* here might answer some of the above purposes, by removing prejudices, refuting falsehoods, and demonstrating our merits with regard to this country. It is accordingly printed, and has a great run. I have another piece in hand, which I intend to put out about the time of the meeting of Parliament, if those I consult with shall judge that it may be of service.*

The next session of Parliament will probably be a short one, on account of the following election; and I am now advised, by some of our great friends here, to see that out, not returning to America till the spring. My presence indeed is necessary there to settle some private affairs. Unforeseen and unavoidable difficulties have hitherto obstructed our proceedings in the main intent of my coming over, and perhaps (though I think my being here has not been altogether unserviceable) our friends in the Assembly may begin to

* Probably the piece entitled, "Causes of the American Discontents before 1768." See Vol. IV. p. 242.

be discouraged and tired of the expense. If that should be the case, I would not have you propose to continue me as agent at the meeting of the new Assembly. My endeavours to serve the province, in what I may while I remain here, shall not be lessened by that omission.

I am glad you have made a trial of paper money, *not a legal tender.* The quantity being small may perhaps be kept in full credit notwithstanding; and, if that can be avoided, I am not for applying here again very soon for a repeal of the restraining act. I am afraid an ill use will be made of it. The plan of our adversaries is to render Assemblies in America useless, and to have a revenue, independent of their grants, for all the purposes of their defence and supporting governments among them. It is our interest to prevent this. And, that they may not lay hold of our necessities for paper money, to draw a revenue from that article whenever they grant us the liberty we want, of making it a legal tender, I wish some other method may be fallen upon of supporting its credit. What think you of getting all the merchants, traders, and principal people of all sorts, to join in petitions to the Assembly for a moderate emission, the petition being accompanied with a mutual engagement to take it in all dealings at the rates fixed by law? Such an engagement had a great effect in fixing the value and rates of our gold and silver. Or, perhaps, a bank might be established that would answer all purposes. Indeed I think with you, that those merchants here, who have made difficulties on the subject of the legal tender, have not understood their own interest. For there can be no doubt, that, should a scarcity of money continue among us, we shall take off less of their merchandise, and attend more to manu-

facturing, and raising the necessaries and superfluities of life among ourselves, which we now receive from them. And perhaps this consequence would attend our making no paper money at all of any sort, that, being thus by want of cash driven to industry and frugality, we should gradually become more rich without their trade, than we can possibly be with it, and, by keeping in the country the real cash that comes into it, have in time a quantity sufficient for all our occasions. But I suppose our people will scarce have patience to wait for this.

I have received the printed votes, but not the laws. I hear nothing yet of any objection made by the Proprietaries to any of them at the Board of Trade.

Please to present my duty to the Assembly, with thanks for their care of me, and assure them of my most faithful services. With sincerest esteem and respect, I am, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN, GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY.

Conversation with Lord Shelburne and General Conway on American Affairs. — Soame Jenyns. — The French Ambassador in London. — Proposed Visit to Paris.

London, 28 August, 1767.

DEAR SON,

I have no letter of yours since my last, in which I answered all preceding ones.

Last week I dined at Lord Shelburne's, and had a long conversation with him and Mr. Conway (there being no other company) on the subject of reducing American expense. They have it in contemplation to

return the management of Indian affairs into the hands of the several provinces on which the nations border, that the colonies may bear the charge of treaties, &c., which they think will then be managed more frugally, the treasury being tired with the immense drafts of the superintendents. I took the opportunity of urging it as one means of saving expense in supporting the outposts, that a settlement should be made in the Illinois country; expatiated on the various advantages, viz. furnishing provisions cheaper to the garrisons, securing the country, retaining the trade, raising a strength there, which on occasion of a future war might easily be poured down the Mississippi upon the lower country, and into the Bay of Mexico, to be used against Cuba or Mexico itself. I mentioned your plan, its being approved by Sir William Johnson, the readiness and ability of the gentlemen concerned to carry the settlement into execution, with very little expense to the crown, &c. The secretaries appeared finally to be fully convinced, and there remained no obstacle but the Board of Trade, which was to be brought over privately, before the matter should be referred to them officially. In case of laying aside the superintendents, a provision was thought of for Sir William Johnson.*

* The subject here introduced, which is frequently mentioned in letters to his son, relates to an application by a company to the crown for the grant of a tract of land west of the Alleganies, with the design of establishing a colony there. It was called *Walpole's Grant*, from the circumstance of Mr. Thomas Walpole having been the principal person concerned in procuring it. See Vol. IV. p. 233; and also *Washington's Writings*, Vol. II. p. 483. The scheme originated with Colonel Crognan, William Franklin, and Sir William Johnson. The project is intimated, apparently at its first stage, in the following extract from a letter written by Governor Franklin to his father.

"Colonel Croghan is highly incensed at the treatment he has received from the proprietary officers in Pennsylvania, and has been a

We had a good deal of farther discourse on American affairs, particularly on paper money. Lord Shelburne declared himself fully convinced of the utility of taking off the restraint, by my answer to the Report of the Board of Trade. General Conway had not seen it, and desired me to send it to him, which I did next morning. They gave me expectation of a repeal next session, Lord Clare being come over; but they said there was some difficulty with others at the Board, who had signed that Report; for there was a good deal in what Soame Jenyns had laughingly said, when asked to concur in some measure, *I have no kind of objection to it, provided we have heretofore signed nothing to the contrary.*

In this conversation I did not forget our main Pennsylvania business, and I think made some farther progress, though but little. The two secretaries seemed intent upon preparing business for next Parliament,

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means of bringing Sir William Johnson and General Gage to think favorably of the Assembly, and to wish them success. A few of us, from his encouragement, have formed a company to purchase of the French, settled at the Illinois, such lands as they have a good title to, and are inclined to dispose of. But, as I thought it would be of little avail to buy lands in that country, unless a colony were established there, I have drawn up some proposals for that purpose, which are much approved of by Colonel Croghan and the other gentlemen concerned in Philadelphia, and are sent by them to Sir William Johnson for his sentiments, and, when we receive them, the whole will be forwarded to you. It is proposed that the company shall consist of twelve, now in America, and, if you like the proposals, you will be at liberty to add yourself, and such gentlemen of character and fortune in England, as you may think will be most likely to promote the undertaking." — *April 30th*, 1766.

The plan of purchasing of the French seems to have been subsequently abandoned, and the company applied to the crown for a tract of unsettled lands mostly between the Alleganies and the Ohio River. Lord Hillsborough opposed the petition, and one of Franklin's ablest papers was written in reply to a report made by him on the subject to the Board of Trade. See Vol. IV. p. 302.

which makes me think, that the late projects of changes are now quite over, and that they expect to continue in place. But whether they will do much or little, I cannot say.

Du Guerchy, the French ambassador, is gone home, and Monsieur Durand is left minister plenipotentiary. He is extremely curious to inform himself in the affairs of America; pretends to have a great esteem for me, on account of the abilities shown in my examination; has desired to have all my political writings, invited me to dine with him, was very inquisitive, treated me with great civility, makes me visits, &c. I fancy that intriguing nation would like very well to meddle on occasion, and blow up the coals between Britain and her colonies; but I hope we shall give them no opportunity.

I write this in a great hurry, being setting out in an hour on another journey with my steady, good friend, Sir John Pringle. We propose to visit Paris. Durand has given me letters of recommendation to the Lord knows who. I am told I shall meet with great respect there; but winds change, and perhaps it will be full as well if I do not. We shall be gone six weeks. I have a little private commission to transact, of which more another time.

Communicate nothing of this letter but privately to our friend Galloway. I am your affectionate father,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.

Description of a Journey to Paris. — French Fashions. — King and Queen. — Versailles. — Paris. — French Politeness. — Travelling.

Paris, 14 September, 1767.

DEAR POLLY,

I am always pleased with a letter from you, and I flatter myself you may be sometimes pleased in receiving one from me, though it should be of little importance, such as this, which is to consist of a few occasional remarks made here, and in my journey hither.

Soon after I left you in that agreeable society at Bromley, I took the resolution of making a trip with Sir John Pringle into France. We set out on the 28th past. All the way to Dover we were furnished with postchaises, hung so as to lean forward, the top coming down over one's eyes, like a hood, as if to prevent one's seeing the country; which being one of my great pleasures, I was engaged in perpetual disputes with the innkeepers, ostlers, and postilions, about getting the straps taken up a hole or two before, and let down as much behind, they insisting that the chaise leaning forward was an ease to the horses, and that the contrary would kill them. I suppose the chaise leaning forward looks to them like a willingness to go forward, and that its hanging back shows reluctance. They added other reasons, that were no reasons at all, and made me, as upon a hundred other occasions, almost wish that mankind had never been endowed with a reasoning faculty, since they know so little how to make use of it, and so often mislead themselves by it, and that they had been furnished with a good sensible instinct instead of it.

At Dover, the next morning, we embarked for Calais with a number of passengers, who had never before been at sea. They would previously make a hearty breakfast, because, if the wind should fail, we might not get over till supper time. Doubtless they thought, that, when they had paid for their breakfast, they had a right to it, and that, when they had swallowed it, they were sure of it. But they had scarce been out half an hour, before the sea laid claim to it, and they were obliged to deliver it up. So that it seems there are uncertainties, even beyond those between the cup and the lip. If ever you go to sea, take my advice, and live sparingly a day or two beforehand. The sickness, if any, will be lighter and sooner over. We got to Calais that evening.

Various impositions we suffered from boatmen, porters, and the like, on both sides the water. I know not which are most rapacious, the English or French, but the latter have, with their knavery, most politeness.

The roads we found equally good with ours in England, in some places paved with smooth stones, like our new streets, for many miles together, and rows of trees on each side, and yet there are no turnpikes. But then the poor peasants complained to us grievously, that they were obliged to work upon the roads full two months in the year, without being paid for their labor. Whether this is truth, or whether, like Englishmen, they grumble, cause or no cause, I have not yet been able fully to inform myself.

The women we saw at Calais, on the road, at Boulogne, and in the inns and villages, were generally of dark complexions; but arriving at Abbeville we found a sudden change, a multitude of both women and men in that place appearing remarkably fair. Whether this is owing to a small colony of spinners, wool-

combers, and weavers, brought hither from Holland with the woollen manufactory about sixty years ago, or to their being less exposed to the sun, than in other places, their business keeping them much within doors, I know not. Perhaps, as in some other cases, different causes may club in producing the effect, but the effect itself is certain. Never was I in a place of greater industry, wheels and looms going in every house.

As soon as we left Abbeville, the swarthiness returned. I speak generally; for here are some fair women at Paris, who, I think, are not whitened by art. As to rouge, they don't pretend to imitate nature in laying it on. There is no gradual diminution of the color, from the full bloom in the middle of the cheek to the faint tint near the sides, nor does it show itself differently in different faces. I have not had the honor of being at any lady's toilette to see how it is laid on, but I fancy I can tell you how it is or may be done. Cut a hole of three inches diameter in a piece of paper; place it on the side of your face in such a manner, as that the top of the hole may be just under the eye; then, with a brush dipped in the color, paint face and paper together; so when the paper is taken off, there will remain a round patch of red exactly the form of the hole. This is the mode, from the actresses on the stage upwards through all ranks of ladies to the princesses of the blood; but it stops there, the Queen not using it, having in the serenity, complacence, and benignity, that shine so eminently in, or rather through her countenance, sufficient beauty, though now an old woman, to do extremely well without it.

You see I speak of the Queen as if I had seen her; and so I have, for you must know I have been

at court. We went to Versailles last Sunday, and had the honor of being presented to the King; he spoke to both of us very graciously and very cheerfully, is a handsome man, has a very lively look, and appears younger than he is. In the evening we were at the *Grand Couvert*, where the family sup in public. The table was half a hollow square, the service gold. When either made a sign for drink, the word was given by one of the waiters; *A boire pour le Roi*, or, *A boire pour la Reine.* Then two persons came from within, the one with wine and the other with water in *carafes;* each drank a little glass of what he brought, and then put both the *carafes* with a glass on a salver, and then presented it. Their distance from each other was such, as that other chairs might have been placed between any two of them. An officer of the court brought us up through the crowd of spectators, and placed Sir John so as to stand between the Queen and Madame Victoire. The King talked a good deal to Sir John, asking many questions about our royal family; and did me too the honor of taking some notice of me; that is saying enough; for I would not have you think me so much pleased with this King and Queen, as to have a whit less regard than I used to have for ours. No Frenchman shall go beyond me in thinking my own King and Queen the very best in the world, and the most amiable.

Versailles has had infinite sums laid out in building it and supplying it with water. Some say the expenses exceeded eighty millions sterling. The range of buildings is immense; the garden-front most magnificent, all of hewn stone; the number of statues, figures, urns, &c., in marble and bronze of exquisite workmanship, is beyond conception. But the water

works are out of repair, and so is great part of the front next the town, looking with its shabby, half-brick walls, and broken windows, not much better than the houses in Durham Yard. There is, in short, both at Versailles and Paris, a prodigious mixture of magnificence and negligence, with every kind of elegance except that of cleanliness, and what we call *tidiness*. Though I must do Paris the justice to say, that in two points of cleanliness they exceed us. The water they drink, though from the river, they render as pure as that of the best spring, by filtering it through cisterns filled with sand; and the streets with constant sweeping are fit to walk in, though there is no paved footpath. Accordingly, many well dressed people are constantly seen walking in them. The crowd of coaches and chairs for this reason is not so great. Men, as well as women, carry umbrellas in their hands, which they extend in case of rain or too much sun; and, a man with an umbrella not taking up more than three foot square, or nine square feet of the street, when, if in a coach, he would take up two hundred and forty square feet, you can easily conceive, that, though the streets here are narrow, they may be much less encumbered. They are extremely well paved, and the stones, being generally cubes, when worn on one side, may be turned and become new.

The civilities we everywhere receive give us the strongest impressions of the French politeness. It seems to be a point settled here universally, that strangers are to be treated with respect; and one has just the same deference shown one here by being a stranger, as in England by being a lady. The custom-house officers at Port St. Denis, as we entered Paris, were about to seize two dozen of excellent Bordeaux wine given us at Boulogne, and which we brought

with us; but, as soon as they found we were strangers, it was immediately remitted on that account. At the Church of Notre Dame, where we went to see a magnificent illumination, with figures, &c., for the deceased Dauphiness, we found an immense crowd, who were kept out by guards; but, the officer being told that we were strangers from England, he immediately admitted us, accompanied and showed us every thing. Why don't we practise this urbanity to Frenchmen? Why should they be allowed to outdo us in any thing?

Here is an exhibition of painting, like ours in London, to which multitudes flock daily. I am not connoisseur enough to judge which has most merit. Every night, Sundays not excepted, here are plays or operas; and, though the weather has been hot, and the houses full, one is not incommoded by the heat so much as with us in winter. They must have some way of changing the air, that we are not acquainted with. I shall inquire into it.

Travelling is one way of lengthening life, at least in appearance. It is but about a fortnight since we left London, but the variety of scenes we have gone through makes it seem equal to six months living in one place. Perhaps I have suffered a greater change, too, in my own person, than I could have done in six years at home. I had not been here six days, before my tailor and perruquier had transformed me into a Frenchman. Only think what a figure I make in a little bag-wig and with naked ears! They told me I was become twenty years younger, and looked very gallant.

This letter shall cost you a shilling, and you may consider it cheap, when you reflect, that it has cost me at least fifty guineas to get into the situation, that

enables me to write it. Besides, I might, if I had stayed at home, have won perhaps two shillings of you at cribbage. By the way, now I mention cards, let me tell you that quadrille is now out of fashion here, and English whist all the mode at Paris and the court.

And pray look upon it as no small matter, that, surrounded as I am by the glories of the world, and amusements of all sorts, I remember you, and Dolly, and all the dear good folks at Bromley. It is true, I cannot help it, but must and ever shall remember you all with pleasure.

Need I add, that I am particularly, my dear good friend, yours most affectionately,

B. Franklin.

TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN.

Conduct of Governor Bernard. — Conversation with Lord Shelburne and Lord Clare on American Affairs. — Dean Tucker. — Abuse of Ministers.

London, 25 November, 1767.

Dear Son,

I think the New Yorkers have been very discreet in forbearing to write and publish against the late act of Parliament. I wish the Boston people had been as quiet, since Governor Bernard has sent over all their violent papers to the ministry, and wrote them word that he daily expected a rebellion. He did indeed afterwards correct this extravagance, by writing again, that he now understood those papers were approved but by few, and disliked by all the sober, sensible people of the province. A certain noble Lord expressed himself to me with some disgust and contempt of Bernard on this occasion, saying he ought

to have known his people better, than to impute to the whole country sentiments, that perhaps are only scribbled by some madman in a garret; that he appeared to be too fond of contention, and mistook the matter greatly, in supposing such letters as he wrote were acceptable to the ministry. I have heard nothing of the appointment of General Clark to New York; but I know he is a friend of Lord Shelburne's, and the same that recommended Mr. Maclean to be his secretary. Perhaps it might be talked of in my absence.

The commissioners for the American Board went hence while I was in France. You know before this time who they are, and how they are received, which I want to hear.* Mr. Williams, who is gone in some office with them, is brother to our cousin Williams of Boston; but I assure you I had not the least share in his appointment, having, as I told you before, carefully kept out of the way of that whole affair.†

As soon as I received Mr. Galloway's, Mr. Samuel Wharton's, and Mr. Croghan's letters on the subject of the boundary, I communicated them immediately to Lord Shelburne. He invited me the next day to dine with him. Lord Clare was to have been there, but did not come. There was nobody but Mr. Maclean. My Lord knew nothing of the boundary's having ever been agreed on by Sir William, had sent the letters to the Board of Trade, desiring search to be

* This was the new Board of Commissioners of Customs established by a late act of Parliament for the colonies. The board was fixed at Boston, and was particularly odious to the colonists, as it seemed to be a part of the system of parliamentary taxation. The commissioners were Charles Paxton, Henry Hutton, William Burch, John Temple, and John Robinson. The three first arrived at Boston in the beginning of November; the two last were already there.

† John Williams was inspector-general of the customs.

made there for Sir William's letters, and ordered Mr. Maclean to search the secretary's office, who found nothing. We had much discourse about it, and I pressed the importance of despatching orders immediately to Sir William to complete the affair. His Lordship asked who was to make the purchase, that is, be at the expense. I said, that, if the line included any lands within the grants of the charter colonies, they should pay the purchase money of such proportion. If any within the proprietary grants, they should pay their proportion; but that what was within royal governments, where the King granted the lands, the crown should pay for that proportion. His Lordship was pleased to say, he thought this reasonable. He finally desired me to go to Lord Clare, as from him, and urge the business there, which I undertook to do.

Among other things at this conversation, we talked of the new settlement. His Lordship told me he had himself drawn up a paper of reasons for those settlements, which he laid before the King in Council, acquainting them that he did not offer them merely as his own sentiments; they were what he had collected from General Amherst, Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Jackson, three gentlemen that were allowed to be the best authorities for any thing that related to America. I think he added that the Council seemed to approve of the design. I know it was referred to the Board of Trade, who I believe have not yet reported on it, and I doubt will report against it. My Lord told me one pleasant circumstance, viz. that he had shown his paper to the Dean of Gloucester (Tucker), to hear his opinion of the matter; who very sagaciously remarked, that he was sure that paper was drawn up by Dr. Franklin; he saw him in every paragraph; adding, that Dr. Franklin wanted to remove the seat of

government to America; that, says he, is his constant plan.*

I waited next morning upon Lord Clare, and pressed the matter of the boundary closely upon him. He said they could not find they had ever received any letters from Sir William concerning this boundary, but were searching farther; agreed to the necessity of settling it; but thought there would be some difficulty about who should pay the purchase money; for that this country was already so loaded, it could bear no more. We then talked of the new colonies. I found he was inclined to think one near the mouth of the Ohio might be of use in securing the country, but did not much approve that at Detroit. And, as to the trade, he imagined it would be of little consequence, if we had all the peltry to be purchased there, but supposed our traders would sell it chiefly to the French and Spaniards at New Orleans, as he heard they had hitherto done.

At the same time that we Americans wish not to be judged of, in the gross, by particular papers written by anonymous scribblers and published in the colonies, it would be well if we could avoid falling into the same mistake in America, in judging of ministers here by the libels printed against them. The enclosed is a very abusive one, in which if there is any foundation of truth, it can only be in the insinuation contained in the words "*after eleven adjournments*," that they are too apt to postpone business; but, if they have given any occasion for this reflection, there are reasons and circumstances that may be urged in their excuse.

* This charge, with others, was made against Dr. Franklin by Dean Tucker in his publications, particularly in his "*Four Tracts*." See Vol. IV. p. 516.

It gives me pleasure to hear, that the people of the other colonies are not insensible of the zeal, with which I occasionally espouse their respective interests, as well as the interests of the whole. I shall continue to do so as long as I reside here and am able.

The present ministry seem now likely to continue through this session of Parliament; and perhaps, if the new Parliament should not differ greatly in complexion from this, they may be fixed for a number of years, which I earnestly wish, as we have no chance for a better.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY.

Paper Money in Pennsylvania. — Mr. Grenville. — Duke of Bedford.

London, 1 December, 1767.

DEAR SIR,

I duly received your favors of August 22d, September 20th, and October 8th, and within these few days one of February 14th, recommending Mr. Morgan Edwards and his affair of the Rhode Island College, which I shall endeavour to promote, deeming the institution one of the most catholic and generous of the kind.

I am inclined to think with you, that the small sum you have issued to discharge the public debts only will not be materially affected in its credit for want of the legal tender, considering especially the present extreme want of money in the province. You appear to me to point out the true cause of the general distress, viz. the late luxurious mode of living introduced by a too great plenty of cash. It is indeed amazing to consider, that we had a quantity sufficient before

the war began, and that the war added immensely to that quantity, by the sums spent among us by the crown, and the paper struck and issued in the province; and now in so few years all the money spent by the crown is gone away, and has carried with it all the gold and silver we had before, leaving us bare and empty, and at the same time more in debt to England than ever we were. But I am inclined to think, that the mere making more money will not mend our circumstances, if we do not return to that industry and frugality, which were the fundamental causes of our former prosperity. I shall nevertheless do my utmost this winter to obtain the repeal of the act restraining the legal tender, if our friends the merchants think it practicable, and will heartily espouse the cause; and, in truth, they have full as much interest in the event as we have.

The present ministry, it is now thought, are likely to continue at least till a new Parliament; so that our apprehensions of a change, and that Mr. Grenville would come in again, seem over for the present. He behaves as if a little out of his head on the article of America, which he brings into every debate without rhyme or reason, when the matter has not the least connexion with it. Thus, at the beginning of this session on the debate upon the King's speech, he tired everybody, even his friends, with a long harangue about and against America, of which there was not a word in the speech. Last Friday he produced in the House a late Boston Gazette, which he said denied the legislative authority of Parliament, was treasonable, rebellious, &c., and moved it might be read, and that the House would take cognizance of it; but, it being moved on the other hand that Mr. Grenville's motion should be postponed to that day

six months, it was carried without a division; and, as it is known that this Parliament will expire before that time, it was equivalent to a total rejection of the motion. The Duke of Bedford, too, it seems, moved in vain for a consideration of this paper in the House of Lords. These are favorable symptoms of the present disposition of Parliament towards America, which I hope no conduct of the Americans will give just cause of altering.

Be so good as to present my best respects to the House, and believe me, with sincere esteem and regard, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and most obedient servant, B. FRANKLIN.

TO JOHN ROSS.

On admitting American Representatives into Parliament.

London, 13 December, 1767.

DEAR SIR,

I received your kind letter of October 18th. I had before seen with great pleasure your name in the papers as chosen for the city of Philadelphia.

The instruction you mention, as proposed by a certain great man, was really a wild one. The reasons you made use of against it were clear and strong, and could not but prevail. It will be time enough to show a dislike to the coalition, when it is proposed to us. Meanwhile we have all the advantage in the argument of taxation, which our not being represented will continue to give us. I think, indeed, that such an event is very remote. This nation is indeed too proud to propose admitting American representatives into their Parliament; and America is not so humble, or so fond

of the honor, as to petition for it. In matrimonial matches it is said, when one party is willing, the match is half made; but, where neither party is willing, there is no great danger of their coming together. And, to be sure, such an important business would never be treated of by agents unempowered and uninstructed; nor would government here act upon the private opinion of agents, which might be disowned by their constituents.

The present ministry seem now likely to continue through this session; and this, as a new election approaches, gives them the advantage of getting so many of their friends chosen as may give a stability to their administration. I heartily wish it, because they are all well disposed towards America.

With sincere esteem, I am, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and most obedient servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN.

Boston Resolutions. — Anecdote of Mr. Grenville and Mr. Onslow.

London, 19 December, 1767.

DEAR SON,

The resolutions of the Boston people concerning trade make a great noise here.* Parliament has not yet taken notice of them, but the newspapers are in full cry against America. Colonel Onslow told me at court last Sunday, that I could not conceive how much

* These resolutions were passed on the 28th of October, and recommended that all prudent and legal measures should be taken to encourage the produce and manufactures of the province, to lessen the use of superfluities, and refrain from purchasing a great number of imported articles.

the friends of America were run upon and hurt by them, and how much the Grenvillians triumphed. I have just written a paper for next Tuesday's *Chronicle* to extenuate matters a little.*

Mentioning Colonel Onslow reminds me of something, that passed at the beginning of this session in the House between him and Mr. Grenville. The latter had been raving against America, as traitorous, rebellious, &c., when the former, who has always been its firm friend, stood up and gravely said, that in reading the Roman history he found it was a custom among that wise and magnanimous people, whenever the senate was informed of any discontent in the provinces, to send two or three of their body into the discontented provinces, to inquire into the grievances complained of, and report to the senate, that mild measures might be used to remedy what was amiss, before any severe steps were taken to enforce obedience; that this example he thought worthy of our imitation in the present state of our colonies, for he did so far agree with the honorable gentleman, that spoke just before him, as to allow there were great discontents among them. He should therefore beg leave to move, that two or three members of Parliament be appointed to go over to New England on this service. And that it might not be supposed he was for imposing burdens on others, which he would not be willing to bear himself, he did at the same time declare his own willingness, if the House should think fit to appoint them, to go over thither *with that honorable gentleman.* Upon this there was a great laugh, which continued some time, and was rather increased by Mr. Grenville's asking, "Will the gentleman engage, that I shall be

* This piece was published January 7th, 1768. See Vol. IV. p. 242.

safe there? Can I be assured that I shall be allowed to come back again to make the report?" As soon as the laugh was so far subsided, as that Mr. Onslow could be heard again, he added, "I cannot absolutely engage for the honorable gentleman's safe return; but, if he goes thither upon this service, I am strongly of opinion the *event* will contribute greatly to the future quiet of both countries." On which the laugh was renewed and redoubled.

If our people should follow the Boston example in entering into resolutions of frugality and industry, full as necessary for us as for them, I hope they will among other things give this reason, that it is to enable them more speedily and effectually to discharge their debts to Great Britain. This will soften a little, and at the same time appear honorable and like ourselves.* Yours, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

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* These sentiments accorded with those of Washington. When it was proposed in Virginia to enter into an agreement, neither to import goods from Great Britain, nor to export produce, with the view of distressing the British trade, and thereby inducing Parliament to repeal the obnoxious acts, he was in favor of restraining imports, but opposed to the adoption of any measures for prohibiting exports, because it would obstruct the payment of debts due in Great Britain. "The stopping of our exports," said he, "would no doubt be a shorter method than the other to effect the purpose; but, if we owe money to Great Britain, nothing but the last necessity can justify the non-payment of it; and, therefore, I have great doubts on this head, and wish to see the other method first tried, which is legal and will facilitate the payments." See Sparks's edition of *Washington's Writings*, Vol. II. pp. 351, 395. — Of the above letter of Franklin to his son, a part, which is here omitted, will be found in Vol. I. p. 212.

FROM THOMAS POWNALL TO B. FRANKLIN.

On the equal Communication of the Rights and Privileges of Great Britain to America.

[Date uncertain.]

DEAR SIR,

The following objection against communicating to the colonies the rights, privileges, and powers of the realm, as to parts of the realm, has been made. I have been endeavouring to obviate it, and I communicate it to you, in hopes of your promised assistance.

"If," say the objectors, "we communicate to the colonies the power of sending representatives, and in consequence expect them to participate in an *equal share and proportion* of all our taxes; we must grant to them all the powers of trade and manufacturing, which any other parts of the realm within the Isle of Great Britain enjoy. If so, perchance the profits of the Atlantic commerce may converge to some centre in America; to Boston, New York, Philadelphia, or to some of the isles. If so, then the natural and artificial produce of the colonies, and in course of consequences the landed interest of the colonies, will be promoted; while the natural and artificial produce and landed interest of Great Britain will be depressed to its utter ruin and destruction; and, consequently, the balance of the power of government, although still within *the realm*, will be *locally* transferred from Great Britain to the colonies. Which consequence, however it may suit a citizen of the world, must be folly and madness to *a Briton*."

My fit is gone off; and though weak, both from the gout and a concomitant and very ugly fever, I am much better. Would be glad to see you. Your friend,

T. POWNALL.

DR. FRANKLIN'S ANSWER.

This *objection* goes upon the supposition, that whatever the colonies gain, Britain must lose; and that if the *colonies* can be kept from gaining an advantage, *Britain will gain it.*

If the colonies are fitter for a particular trade than Britain, they should have it, and Britain apply to what it is more fit for. The whole empire is a gainer. And if Britain is not so fit or so well situated for a particular advantage, *other* countries will get it, *if the colonies do not.* Thus Ireland was forbid the woollen manufacture, and remains poor; but this has given to the French the trade and wealth Ireland might have gained for the British empire.

The government cannot *long* be retained without the union. Which is best (supposing your case) to have a total separation, or a change of the seat of government? It by no means follows, that promoting and advancing the landed interest in America will depress that of Britain; the contrary has always been the fact. Advantageous situations and circumstances will always secure and fix manufactures. Sheffield against all Europe these three hundred years past.

TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN.

Change of Ministers. — Boston Resolutions.

London, 9 January, 1768.

Dear Son,

We have had so many alarms of changes, which did not take place, that just when I wrote it was thought the ministry would stand their ground. However, im-

mediately after, the talk was renewed, and it scon appeared that the Sunday changes were actually settled. Mr. Conway resigns and Lord Weymouth takes his place. Lord Gower is made President of the Council in the room of Lord Northington. Lord Shelburne is stripped of the American business, which is given to Lord Hillsborough as secretary of state for America, a new distinct department. Lord Sandwich, it is said, comes into the postoffice in his place. Several of the Bedford party are now to come in.

How these changes may affect us, a little time will show. Little at present is thought of but elections, which gives me hopes that nothing will be done against America this session, though the *Boston Gazette* had occasioned some heats, and the Boston Resolutions a prodigious clamor. I have endeavoured to palliate matters for them as well as I can. I send you my manuscript of one paper, though I think you take the *Chronicle.* The editor of that paper, one Jones, seems a Grenvillian, or is very cautious, as you will see by his corrections and omissions. He has drawn the teeth and pared the nails of my paper, so that it can neither scratch nor bite. It seems only to paw and mumble. I send you also two other late pieces of mine. There is another which I cannot find.*

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* The effect produced by the Boston resolutions in England is described in a similar manner by Mr. William Samuel Johnson, the agent from Connecticut, in a letter to Governor Pitkin, dated London, December 26th, 1767.

"The next thing," says Mr. Johnson, "that occurred, to give any disturbance, was the intelligence from Boston, that they had entered into an agreement not to import or use a great variety of British manufactures, but to set on foot and encourage manufactures of the like kind amongst themselves. This was received by very many with great indignation, and at first seemed to threaten some mischief. Pains were therefore taken, by the friends of the colonies, to excuse this proceeding, and to place it in as favorable light as it would bear, as

I am told there has been a talk of getting me appointed under-secretary to Lord Hillsborough; but with little likelihood, as it is a settled point here, that I am too much of an American. I am in very good health, thanks to God. Your affectionate father,

B. FRANKLIN.

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founded in the necessities of the country, its want of trade, the scarcity of its specie, and the utter inability to pay the debts already contracted, and continue any beneficial intercourse with this country, without greater economy, industry, and frugality, than we have formerly practised; that it could be of no advantage to this country, or America, to take off more of their manufactures than she can pay for, and eventually become bankrupt in their debt; and that our natural propensity to luxury, as well as the attachment we have to the cultivation of our lands in preference to manufactures, will always induce us to take off as much as we can really afford to consume.

"Observations of this kind have weight, and the heat seems to be cooling. But still it is objected, that this agreement at Boston was apparently entered into with other motives, that is, to show their resentment against this country, and the laws and regulations established in the last session of Parliament. To which it is replied, that there is no clear ground for this position, and that it is a harsh, uncandid construction, which ought not to be made, since there are so many justifiable motives to which it may be imputed, without supposing any thing of this kind. I must own, indeed, that our best friends do rather condemn the time and manner of doing it, and hope the example will not be followed in other towns and colonies. Say they, 'We see as clearly as you do, that it is by all means right for you to practise all possible industry and economy, and to make the most you can of your own manufactures. It is both your duty and your interest. But why should there be these public associations, these votes and subscriptions? Why make such a parade about it, which must unavoidably give umbrage here, and add strength to the enemies of that country, whose constant theme it is, that all these steps are taken with a view very soon to renounce all dependence upon this kingdom? Why may not these things be as effectually done without noise or notice, even by individuals, every one, in his own private sphere, pursuing, inculcating, and practising those maxims so beneficial to the country?' These are some of the observations both of our friends and foes upon this occasion, of which, perhaps, good use may be made."

In the same letter, Mr. Johnson speaks as follows of Lord Hillsborough. "All American affairs will now be thrown into an entire new channel; all is to begin anew with Lord Hillsborough; new negotiations are to be commenced, new connexions formed; which is ar

TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY.

Endeavours to quiet the Clamor about the Boston Resolutions.

London, 9 January, 1768.

DEAR SIR,

I wrote to you by way of Boston, and have little to add, except to acquaint you that some changes have taken place since my last, which have not the most promising aspect for America, several of the Bedford party being come into employment again; a party that has distinguished itself by exclaiming against us on all late occasions. Mr. Conway, one of our friends, has resigned, and Lord Weymouth takes his place. Lord Shelburne, another friend, is stripped of the American part of the business of his office, which now makes a distinct department, in which Lord Hillsborough is placed. I do not think this nobleman in general an enemy to America; but, in the affair of paper money, he was last winter strongly against us.

I did hope I had removed some of his prejudices on that head, but am not certain. We have, however, increased the cry for it here, and I believe shall attempt to obtain the repeal of the act, though the *Boston Gazette* and their resolutions about manufactures

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unhappy delay to all, who have any affairs to solicit. Lord Hillsborough is esteemed a nobleman of good nature, abilities, and integrity; is a man of business, alert, lively, ready, but too fond of his own opinions and systems, and too apt to be inflexibly attached to them; by no means so gentle, and easy to be entreated, as his predecessor in that branch of business, but much more to be depended upon, if he once adopts your ideas of any measure. As a native of Ireland, and possessed of vast property there, it may be hoped he has formed reasonable notions of the rights and liberties of the distant branches of this empire, and would not be disposed to confine all power, and all political felicity to the shores of this Island."

have hurt us much, having occasioned an immense clamor here. I have endeavoured to palliate matters for them as well as I can, and hope with some success. For having, in a large company in which were some members of Parliament, given satisfaction to all, by what I alleged in explanation of the conduct of the Americans, and to show that they were not quite so unreasonable as they appeared to be, I was advised by several present to make my sentiments public, not only for the sake of America, but as it would be some ease to our friends here, who are triumphed over a good deal by our adversaries on the occasion. I have accordingly done it in the enclosed paper.

I shall write you fully on other subjects very soon. At present, I can only add my respects to the Committee, and that I am, dear Sir, your faithful humble servant, B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

London, 13 February, 1768.

MY DEAR CHILD,

I received your kind letter by Captain Story, of November 19th, and a subsequent one by Captain Falconer without date. I have received also the Indian and buckwheat meal, that they brought from you, with the apples, cranberries, and nuts, for all which I thank you. They all prove good, and the apples were particularly welcome to me and my friends, as there happens to be scarce any of any kind in England this year. We are much obliged to the captains, who are so good as to bring these things for us, without charging any thing for their trouble.

I am much concerned for my dear sister's loss of her daughter. It was kind in you to write a letter

of condolence. I have also written to her on the occasion. I am not determined about bringing Sally over with me, but am obliged to you for the kind manner in which you speak of it, and possibly I may conclude to do it.* I am sorry you had so much trouble with that Nelson. By what is now said of her here, she did not deserve the notice you took of her, or that any credit should be given to her stories. I am afraid she has made mischief in my family by her falsehoods. I think your advice good, not to help any one to servants. I shall never be concerned in such business again; I never was lucky in it.

My love to all our relations and friends, and to Mr. and Mrs. Duffield, and to Mrs. Redman. I am much pleased with her daughter's writing, particularly for its correctness. I am now, and have been all this winter, in very good health, thanks to God. I only once felt a little admonition, as if a fit of the gout would attack me, but it did not. Whether sick or well, I am ever, my dear Debby, your affectionate husband, B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. I forgot to tell you that a certain very great

* This was Sally Franklin, often mentioned, the daughter of Thomas Franklin, a remote family connexion. As this Thomas Franklin was in narrow circumstances, Dr. Franklin took the charge of his daughter for several years. In a letter to his sister, dated July 17th, 1771, he says; "Sally Franklin has lived with me these five years, a very good girl, now sixteen. She is great-granddaughter of our father's brother John, who was a dyer at Banbury in Oxfordshire, where our father learned that trade of him, and where our grandfather Thomas lies buried. I saw his grave-stone. Sally's father, John's grandson, is now living at Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, where he follows the same business, his father too being bred a dyer, as was our uncle Benjamin. He is a widower, and Sally his only child. These two are the only descendants of our grandfather Thomas now remaining in England, that retain the name of Franklin." She was married in England, and did not go to America as was proposed.

lady, the best woman in England, was graciously pleased to accept some of your nuts, and to say they were excellent. This is to yourself only.*

TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY.

Act restraining the Legal Tender of Paper Money. — Lord Hillsborough. — Change of Government in Pennsylvania. — A Scene in Parliament. — Bribery in Borough Elections. — Mr. Beckford. — Mr. Thurlow.

London, 17 February, 1768.

DEAR SIR,

In mine of January 9th, I wrote to you that I believed, notwithstanding the clamor against America had been greatly increased by the Boston proceedings, we should attempt this session to obtain the repeal of the restraining act relating to paper money. The change of the administration, with regard to American affairs, which was agreed on some time before the new secretary kissed hands and entered upon business, made it impossible to go forward with that affair, as the minister quitting that department would not, and his successor could not, engage in it; but now our friends the merchants have been moving in it, and some of them have conceived hopes, from the manner in which Lord Hillsborough attended to their representations. It had been previously concluded among us, that, if

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* The following note will probably explain this postscript. At the end is a playful allusion to the contest about the Stamp Act.

"Dr. Franklin presents his respectful compliments to Lord Bathurst, with some American nuts; and to Lady Bathurst with some American apples; which he prays they will accept as a tribute from that country, small indeed, but *voluntary*."

the repeal was to be obtained at all, it must be proposed in the light of a favor to the merchants of this country, and asked for by them, not by the agents as a favor to America. But, as my Lord had, at sundry times before he came into his present station, discoursed with me on the subject, and got from me a copy of my answer to his report, when at the head of the Board of Trade, which some time since he thanked me for, and said he would read again and consider carefully, I waited upon him this morning, partly with intent to learn if he had changed his sentiments.

We entered into the subject, and had a long conversation upon it, in which all the arguments he used, against the legal tender of paper money, were intended to demonstrate, that it was for the benefit of the people themselves to have no such money current among them; and it was strongly his opinion, that, after the experience of being without it a few years, we should all be convinced of this truth, as he said the New England colonies now were; they having lately, on the rumor of an intended application for taking off the restraint, petitioned here, that it might be continued as to them. However, his Lordship was pleased to say, that, if such application was made for the three colonies of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, as I proposed, it should have fair play, he would himself give it no sort of opposition; but he was sure it would meet with a great deal, and he thought it could not succeed. He was pleased to make me compliments upon my paper, assuring me he had read it with a great deal of attention, that I had said much more in favor of such a currency than he thought could be said, and all he believed that the subject would admit of; but that it had not on the whole

changed his opinion, any further than to induce him to leave the matter now to the judgment of others, and let it take its course, without opposing it as last year he had determined to have done.

I go into the city to-morrow, to confer with the merchants again upon it; that, if they see any hopes, we may at least try the event. But I own my expectations are now very slender, knowing as I do, that nothing is to be done in Parliament, that is not a measure adopted by ministry and supported by their strength, much less any thing they are averse to *or indifferent about.*

I took the opportunity of discoursing with his Lordship concerning our particular affair of the change of government, gave him a detail of all proceedings hitherto, the delays it had met with, and its present situation. He was pleased to say, he would inquire into the matter, and would talk with me further upon it. He expressed great satisfaction in the good disposition, that, he said, appeared now to be general in America, with regard to government here, according to the latest advices; and informed me, that he had by his Majesty's order wrote the most healing letters to the several governors, which, if shown to the Assemblies, as he supposed they would be, could not but confirm that good disposition. As to the permission we want to bring wine, fruit, and oil directly from Spain and Portugal, and to carry iron direct to foreign markets, it is agreed on all hands that this is an unfavorable time to move in those matters; George Grenville and those in the opposition, on every hint of the kind, making a great noise about the Act of Navigation, that palladium of England, as they call it, to be given up to rebellious America, &c. &c., so that the ministry would not venture to propose it, if *they* ap-

proved. I am to wait on the secretary again next Wednesday, and shall write you further what passes, that is material.

The Parliament have of late been acting an egregious farce, calling before them the mayor and aldermen of Oxford, for proposing a sum to be paid by their old members on being rechosen at the next election; and sundry printers and brokers, for advertising and dealing in boroughs, &c. The Oxford people were sent to Newgate, and discharged, after some days, on humble petition, and receiving the Speaker's reprimand upon their knees. The House could scarcely keep countenances, knowing as they all do, that the practice is general. People say, they mean nothing more than to *beat down the price* by a little discouragement of borough jobbing, now that their own elections are all coming on. The price indeed is grown exorbitant, no less than *four thousand pounds* for a member.

Mr. Beckford has brought in a bill for preventing bribery and corruption in elections, wherein was a clause to oblige every member to swear, on his admission into the House, that he had not directly or indirectly given any bribe to any elector; but this was so universally exclaimed against, as answering no end but perjuring the members, that he has been obliged to withdraw that clause. It was indeed a cruel contrivance of his, worse than the gunpowder plot; for that was only to blow the Parliament up to heaven, this to sink them all down to ——. Mr. Thurlow opposed his bill by a long speech. Beckford, in reply, gave a dry hit to the House, that is repeated everywhere. "The honorable gentleman," says he, "in his learned discourse, gave us first one definition of corruption, then he gave us another definition of corruption, and I

think he was about to give us a third. Pray does that gentleman imagine *there is any member of this House that does not* KNOW what corruption is?" which occasioned only a roar of laughter, for they are so hardened in the practice, that they are very little ashamed of it. This between ourselves. I am with sincerest esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant, B. FRANKLIN.

TO THOMAS WHARTON.

Conversation with General Conway. — Proceedings in Boston.

London, 20 February, 1768.

DEAR FRIEND,

I received your favors of November 17th and 18th, with another dozen of excellent wine, the manufacture of our friend Livezey. I thank you for the care you have taken in forwarding them, and for your kind good wishes that accompany them.*

The story you mention of secretary Conway's wondering what I could be doing in England, and that he had not seen me for a considerable time, savours

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* He wrote the same day to Mr. Livezey as follows. "I received your kind letter of November 18th, with a very welcome present of another dozen of your wine. The former had been found excellent by many good judges; my wine merchant in particular was very desirous of knowing what quantity of it might be had, and at what price, to which I could give him no satisfaction. I only said, that the grapes, being uncultivated, were not very juicy; I apprehended, so many of them must be required, and so much labor in gathering and pressing them, to produce a little wine, that the price could not be very low. I shall apply this parcel as I did the last, towards warming the hearts of the friends of our country, and wellwishers to the change of its government."

strongly of the channel through which it came, and deserves no notice. But, since his name is mentioned, it gives me occasion to relate what passed between us the last time I had the honor of conversing with him. It was at court, when the late changes were first rumored, and it was reported he was to resign the secretary's office. Talking of America, I said I was sorry to find, that our friends were one after another quitting the administration, that I was apprehensive of the consequences, and hoped what I heard of his going out was not true. He said it was really true, the employment had not been of his choice, he had never any taste for it, but had submitted to engage in it for a time, at the instance of his friends, and he believed his removal could not be attended with any ill consequences to America; that he was a sincere wellwisher to the prosperity of that country as well as this, and hoped the imprudences of either side would never be carried to such a height, as to create a breach of the union, so essentially necessary to the welfare of both; that, as long as his Majesty continued to honor him with a share in his counsels, America should always find in him a friend, &c. This I write, as it was agreeable to me to hear, and I suppose will be so to you to read. For his character has more in it of the frank honesty of the soldier, than of the plausible insincerity of the courtier; and therefore what he says is more to be depended on.

The Proprietor's dislike to my continuing in England, to be sure, is very natural; as well as to the repeated choice of Assembly men, not his friends; and probably he would, as they so little answer his purposes, wish to see elections as well as agencies abol-

ished. They make him very unhappy, but it cannot be helped.

The proceedings in Boston, as the news came just upon the meeting of Parliament, and occasioned great clamor here, gave me much concern. And, as every offensive thing done in America is charged upon all, and every province, though unconcerned in it, suffers in its interests through the general disgust given, and the little distinction here made, it became necessary, I thought, to palliate the matter a little for our own sakes; and therefore I wrote the paper, which probably you have seen printed in the *Chronicle* of January 7th, and signed F. S. Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

FROM JOSEPH GALLOWAY TO B. FRANKLIN.

State of Affairs in Pennsylvania.

Philadelphia, 10 March, 1768.

DEAR SIR,

I enclose this in a packet sent by the Committee of Correspondence, containing the messages which passed between the two Houses of legislature at their last sitting. By them you will be able to form a proper judgment of the affairs of this province, which, in the opinion of all good men here, are at length reduced to the most desperate circumstances. All the mischiefs we have long expected, if not come to pass, are now in full prospect. We have long seen, that the powers of government, united in the same hands, with immense property, would necessarily be attended with many inconveniences both to the crown, and the subject; and that those powers, vested in the feeble hands of private subjects, would prove too weak to

support his Majesty's authority, or to give safety to his people. The first will ever naturally lead to acts of injustice, ambition, and oppression; and these things, in private men, will more especially beget disrespect, and that disrespect soon ripen into contempt; the consequence whereof in this province is, we have the name of a government, but no safety or protection under it. We have laws without being executed, or even feared or respected. We have offenders, but no punishment. We have a magistracy, but no justice; and a governor, but no government. And, you well know, we possess the warmest allegiance to our sovereign and our mother country; and yet our persons and estates are every hour liable to the ravages of the licentious and lawless, without any hope of defence against them.

The impunity, with which offenders escape, is a perpetual encouragement to the licentious and wicked to commit new offences. This day, an account arrived from Lancaster, that two soldiers, sent with despatches from the commanding officer at Fort Pitt, were attacked in Paxton township, their letters taken from them, one of which was immediately destroyed, after being opened and read; the rest opened, but redelivered. I have seen the opened letters, which were not destroyed. What was the nature or consequence of the letter destroyed, none can tell. Take a view, dear Sir, of these facts, with what you know has heretofore passed in the government, and add to them the declaration of our governor, that he can do no more in his station towards bringing offenders to justice, than issuing a proclamation, and writing a few mild letters to his magistracy, and tell me, whether you think we can believe ourselves, or our estates, safe under the present government. I do most candidly

assure you, could I convert my estate into personalty, without great loss, I should immediately remove it with my family into a government, where I could reasonably expect they would be safe from violation. In this, it is the opinion of all who are active in supporting the honor of the government, and the authority of the crown, that their lives and property are in great jeopardy and danger.

Under these circumstances, the Assembly think it their indispensable duty to acquaint his Majesty and ministry of the state of the province. For which purpose the papers are sent to the agents, and they are ordered to prosecute the petitions for a change; in hopes, that our distracted and distressed situation will draw his Majesty's attention and compassion so far towards us, as to take the government under his immediate direction.

It gives me pleasure to find a new establishment is made for American affairs only. May we not hope for more attention to our unhappy circumstances, and especially under the nobleman who is at its head? I am, &c. JOSEPH GALLOWAY.

TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN.

Lord Hillsborough's Plan for Defence in America. His Opinion of the "Farmer's Letters." — Power of Parliament over the Colonies. — Account of the Manufactures in the Colonies. — Elections in England.

London, 13 March, 1768.

DEAR SON,

I have received, all together, your letters of January 6th, 21st, and 22d. It had been a great while, that

I had not heard from you. The purpose of settling the new colonies seems at present to be dropped, the change of American administration not appearing favorable to it. There seems rather to be an inclination to abandon the posts in the back country, as more expensive than useful; but counsels are so continually fluctuating here, that nothing can be depended on. The new secretary, my Lord Hillsborough, is, I find, of opinion, that the troops should be placed, the chief part of them, in Canada and Florida, only three battalions to be quartered in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; and that Forts Pitt, Oswego, Niagara, &c., should be left to the colonies to garrison and keep up, if they think it necessary, for the protection of their trade. Probably his opinion may be followed, if the new changes do not produce other ideas.

As to my own sentiments, I am weary of suggesting them to so many different inattentive heads, though I must continue to do it while I stay among them. The letters from Sir William Johnson, relating to the boundary, were at last found, and orders were sent over about Christmas for completing the purchase and settlement of it. My Lord Hillsborough has promised me to send duplicates by this packet, and urge the speedy execution, as we represented to him the danger, that these dissatisfactions of the Indians might produce a war. But I can tell you, there are many here, to whom the news of such a war would give pleasure; who speak of it as a thing to be wished; partly as a chastisement to the colonies, and partly to make them feel the want of protection from this country, and pray for it. For it is imagined, that we could not possibly defend ourselves against the Indians without such assistance; so little is the state of America understood here.

My Lord Hillsborough mentioned the "Farmer's Letters" to me, said he had read them, that they were well written, and he believed he could guess who was the author, looking in my face at the same time, as if he thought it was me. He censured the doctrines as extremely wild. I have read them as far as No. 8. I know not if any more have been published. I should have thought they had been written by Mr. Delancey, not having heard any mention of the others you point out as joint authors.* I am not yet master of the idea these and the New England writers have of the relation between Britain and her colonies. I know not what the Boston people mean by the "subordination" they acknowledge in their Assembly to Parliament, while they deny its power to make laws for them, nor what bounds the Farmer sets to the power he acknowledges in Parliament to "regulate the trade of the colonies," it being difficult to draw lines between duties for regulation and those for revenue; and, if the Parliament is to be the judge, it seems to me that establishing such principles of distinction will amount to little.

The more I have thought and read on the subject, the more I find myself confirmed in opinion, that no middle doctrine can be well maintained, I mean not clearly with intelligible arguments. Something might be made of either of the extremes; that Parliament has a power to make *all laws* for us, or that it has a power to make *no laws* for us; and I think the arguments for the latter more numerous and weighty, than those for the former. Supposing that doctrine

* The "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania," here mentioned, were written by John Dickenson, and published the next year in England with a Preface by Dr. Franklin. See Vol. IV. p. 256.

established, the colonies would then be so many separate states, only subject to the same king, as England and Scotland were before the union. And then the question would be, whether a union like that with Scotland would or would not be advantageous to *the whole*. I should have no doubt of the affirmative, being fully persuaded that it would be best for *the whole*, and that though particular parts might find particular disadvantages in it, they would find greater advantages in the security arising to every part from the increased strength of the whole. But such union is not likely to take place, while the nature of our present relation is so little understood on both sides of the water, and sentiments concerning it remain so widely different.

As to the Farmers' combating, as you say they intend to do, my opinion, that the Parliament might lay duties though not impose internal taxes, I shall not give myself the trouble to defend it. Only to you I may say, that not only the Parliament of Britain, but every state in Europe, claims and exercises a right of laying duties on the exportation of its own commodities to foreign countries. A duty is paid here on coals exported to Holland, and yet England has no right to lay an internal tax on Holland. All goods brought out of France to England, or any other country, are charged with a small duty in France, which the consumers pay, and yet France has no right to tax other countries. And in my opinion the grievance is not that Britain puts duties upon her own manufactures exported to us, but that she forbids us to buy the like manufactures from any other country. This she does, however, in virtue of her allowed right to regulate the commerce of the whole empire, allowed I mean by the Farmer, though I think whoever would dispute that right might stand upon firmer ground.

and make much more of the argument; but my reasons are too many and too long for a letter.

Mr. Grenville complained in the House, that the governors of New Jersey, New Hampshire, East and West Florida, had none of them obeyed the orders sent them, to give an account of the manufactures carried on in their respective provinces. Upon hearing this, I went after the House was up, and got a sight of the reports made by the other governors. They are all much in the same strain, that there are no manufactures of any consequence; in Massachusetts a little coarse woollen only, made in families for their own wear; glass and linen have been tried and failed. Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York much the same. Pennsylvania has tried a linen manufactory, but it is dropped, it being imported cheaper; there is a glasshouse in Lancaster county, but it makes only a little coarse ware for the country neighbours. Maryland is clothed all with English manufactures. Virginia the same, except that in their families they spin a little cotton of their own growing. South Carolina and Georgia none. All speak of the dearness of labor that makes manufactures impracticable. Only the governor of North Carolina parades with a large manufacture in his country, that may be useful to Britain, of *pine boards;* they having fifty sawmills on one river.

These accounts are very satisfactory here, and induce the Parliament to despise and take no notice of the Boston resolutions. I wish you would send your account before the meeting of next Parliament. You have only to report a glasshouse for coarse window glass and bottles, and some domestic manufactures of linen and woollen for family use, that do not half clothe the inhabitants, all the finer goods coming from England and the like. I believe you will be puzzled

to find any other, though I see great puffs in the papers.

The Parliament is up, and the nation in a ferment with the new elections. Great complaints are made that the natural interests of country gentlemen in their neighbouring boroughs is overborne by the moneyed interests of the new people, who have got sudden fortunes in the Indies, or as contractors. *Four thousand pounds* is now the *market price* for a borough. In short, this whole venal nation is now at market, will be sold for about two millions, and might be bought out of the hands of the present bidders (if he would offer half a million more) by the very Devil himself.

I shall wait on Lord Hillsborough again next Wednesday, on behalf of the sufferers by Indian and French depredations, to have an allowance of lands out of any new grant made by the Indians, so long solicited, and perhaps still to be solicited, in vain. I am your affectionate father,

B. Franklin.

P. S. I dined yesterday with General Monckton, Major Gates, Colonel Lee,* and other officers, who have served in and are friends of America. Monckton inquired kindly after your welfare.

* Afterwards General Gates, and General Charles Lee, of the American Continental army.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Indian Boundary. — Governor Penn. — Government propose abandoning the Posts in the Indian Country.

London, 13 March, 1768.

GENTLEMEN,

On receipt of your letter of January 20th, Mr. Jackson and myself waited on Lord Hillsborough, the new secretary of state for American affairs, and communicated to him the contents, pressing the necessity of enforcing the orders already sent to Sir William Johnson, for immediately settling the affair of the boundary line with the Indians. His Lordship was pleased to assure us, that he would cause duplicates of the orders to be forwarded by this packet, and urge the completion of them.

We communicated also the copy of General Gage's letter, and the messages that had passed between the governor and the House thereupon. His Lordship acquainted us, that a letter from Governor Penn had been shown him by the Proprietor, importing that a horrid murder had lately been committed on the Indians, upon which the governor had issued a proclamation for apprehending the murderer; and that a bill was under his and the Council's consideration to prevent future settlements on Indian lands. But his Lordship remarked, that these messages had not been communicated to him by the Proprietor.

Government here begins to grow tired of the enormous expense of Indian affairs, and of maintaining posts in the Indian country; and it is now talked of, as a proper measure, to abandon these posts, demolishing all but such as the colonies may think fit to

keep up at their own expense; and also to return the management of their own Indian affairs into the hands of the respective provinces as formerly. What the result will be, is uncertain, counsels here being so continually fluctuating. But I have urged often, that, after taking those affairs out of our hands, it seems highly incumbent on the ministry not to neglect them, but to see that they are well managed, and the Indians kept in peace. I think, however, that we should not too much depend on their doing this, but look to the matter a little ourselves, taking every opportunity of conciliating the affections of the Indians, by seeing that they always have justice done them, and sometimes kindness. For I can assure you, that here are not wanting people, who, though not now in the ministry, no one knows how soon they may be; and, if they were ministers, would take no step to prevent an Indian war in the colonies; being of opinion, which they express openly, that it would be a very good thing, in the first place, to chastise the colonists for their undutifulness, and then to make them sensible of the necessity of protection by the troops of this country.

Mr. Jackson, being now taken up with his election business, will hardly have time to write by this opportunity. But he joins with me in respects to you and the Assembly, and assurances of our most faithful services. I am, Gentlemen, your most obedient and most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY.

Lord Hillsborough. — Dissolution of Parliament. — Bribery in Elections.

London, 13 March, 1768.

DEAR SIR,

I wrote to you very fully by Falconer, of February 17th, and have since received yours of January 21st, together with one from the Committee, and the messages which, as you will see by my answer to the Committee, I communicated to Lord Hillsborough. His Lordship read them deliberately, and took notice that the message of the Assembly seemed to insinuate, that the governor had been tardy in bringing the former murderers to justice, which gave me an opportunity of explaining that matter to him; whereby he might also understand why the Proprietor had not shown him the messages, when he communicated the governor's letter concerning the Indian uneasinesses, the law under his consideration for removing them, the late murder, and his proclamation. I shall wait on his Lordship again next Wednesday, on our affairs, and show him moreover your letter with some other papers.

The old Parliament is gone, and its enemies now find themselves at liberty to abuse it. I enclose you a pamphlet, published the very hour of its prorogation. All the members are now in their counties and boroughs among their drunken electors; much confusion and disorder in many places, and such profusion of money as never was known before on any similar occasion. The first instance of bribery to be chosen a member, taken notice of on the journals, is no longer ago than Queen Elizabeth's time, when the being sent to Parliament was looked upon as a trou-

blesome service, and therefore not sought after. It is said that such a one, "being a simple man, and conceiving it might be of some advantage to him, had given *four pounds* to the mayor and corporation, that they might choose him to serve them in Parliament."

The price is monstrously risen since that time, for it is now no less than *four thousand pounds!* It is thought, that near two millions will be spent this election; but those, who understand figures and act by computation, say the crown has *two millions a year in places and pensions to dispose of*, and it is well worth while to engage in such a seven years' lottery, though all that have tickets should not get prizes. I am, my dear friend, yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Instructions from the Assembly.— Suggestion for emitting Paper Money with a Legal Tender.

London, 16 April, 1768.

GENTLEMEN,

I have just received your favor of February 20th, directed to Mr. Jackson and myself, containing instructions for our conduct relating to the application for a repeal of the duty act, to the change of government, and to the legal tender of paper money; which instructions we shall observe to the best of our abilities. Mr. Jackson has read your letter, and is now reading the messages and other papers transmitted to us, which we shall lay before the secretaries of state on Monday, and thereupon press the necessity of a change in the administration of our province.

The Parliament will have a short session, it is said, in May, when, if any application is made for the repeal of that act by the agents of the other colonies, we shall join them heartily, and do what we can likewise in the affair of paper money. In the mean time, should an Indian war make it necessary to emit paper money with a legal tender, it may be considered how far the fourth clause in the act of the 24 Geo. II. might give countenance to your providing in that way for the emergency. That act not being altered or repealed by any later, it seems as if the Parliament thought that clause not improper, though they have not expressly made the same provision for the other colonies. The mail being to go this evening, I can only add, that I am with the utmost respect for you and the Assembly, Gentlemen, your most obedient and most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN.

Elections to the new Parliament. — Wilkes and the Middlesex Election. — Riots, Mobs, and Illuminations on the Occasion.

London, 16 April, 1768.

DEAR SON,

Since my last, a long one, of March 13th, nothing has been talked or thought of here but elections. There have been amazing contests all over the kingdom, *twenty* or *thirty thousand pounds* of a side spent in several places, and inconceivable mischief done by debauching the people and making them idle, besides the immediate actual mischief done by drunken mad mobs to houses, windows, &c. The scenes have

been horrible. London was illuminated two nigh running, at the command of the mob, for the succe of Wilkes, in the Middlesex election. The secon night exceeded any thing of the kind ever seen her on the greatest occasions of rejoicing, as even th small cross-streets, lanes, courts, and other out-of-the way places were all in a blaze with lights, and th principal streets all night long, as the mobs went roun again after two o'clock, and obliged people who ha extinguished their candles to light them again. Thos who refused had all their windows destroyed. Th damage done, and expense of candles, have been com puted at fifty thousand pounds. It must have bee great, though probably not so much.

The ferment is not yet over, for he has promise to surrender himself to the court next Wednesday and another tumult is then expected; and what the up shot will be no one can yet foresee. It is really a extraordinary event, to see an outlaw and an exile, c bad personal character, not worth a farthing, come ove from France, set himself up as candidate for the cap ital of the kingdom, miss his election only by bein too late in his application, and immediately carryin it for the principal county; the mob (spirited up b numbers of different ballads sung or roared in ever street) requiring gentlemen and ladies of all ranks, a they passed in their carriages, to shout for Wilkes an liberty, marking the same words on all their coache with chalk, and No. 45* on every door; which ex tends a vast way along the roads into the country

* Wilkes was prosecuted for publishing a libel against the govern ment in a paper, called the "North Briton." Parliament ordered "No. 45 of that paper, in which the libel was contained, to be burnt by th hands of the common hangman. Hence the partiality of the populac for that number.

I went last week to Winchester, and observed, that for fifteen miles out of town there was scarce a door or window shutter next the road unmarked; and this continued, here and there, quite to Winchester, which is sixty-four miles.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO JOHN ROSS.

Riots and Confusion in London. — Wilkes and Liberty. — Bishop of the English Church in America.

London, 14 May, 1768.

DEAR SIR,

I received your favor of March 13th, and am extremely concerned at the disorders on our frontiers, and at the debility or wicked connivance of our government and magistrates, which must make property and even life more and more insecure among us, if some effectual remedy is not speedily applied. I have laid all the accounts before the ministry here. I wish I could procure more attention to them. I have urged over and over the necessity of the change we desire; but this country itself being at present in a situation very little better, weakens our argument that a royal government would be better managed, and safer to live under, than that of a proprietary. Even this capital, the residence of the King, is now a daily scene of lawless riot and confusion. Mobs patrolling the streets at noonday, some knocking all down that will not roar for Wilkes and liberty; courts of justice afraid to give judgment against him; coal-heavers and porters pulling down the houses of coal merchants, that refuse to give them more wages; sawyers destroying sawmills; sailors unrigging all the outward bound

ships, and suffering none to sail till merchants agree to raise their pay; watermen destroying private boats and threatening bridges; soldiers firing among the mobs and killing men, women, and children, which seems only to have produced a universal sullenness, that looks like a great black cloud coming on, ready to burst in a general tempest.

What the event will be, God only knows. But some punishment seems preparing for a people, who are ungratefully abusing the best constitution, and the best King, any nation was ever blessed with, intent on nothing but luxury, licentiousness, power, places, pensions, and plunder; while the ministry, divided in their counsels, with little regard for each other, worried by perpetual oppositions, in continual apprehension of changes, intent on securing popularity in case they should lose favor, have for some years past had little time or inclination to attend to our small affairs, whose remoteness makes them appear still smaller.

The bishops here are very desirous of securing the Church of England in America, and promoting its interest and enlargement by sending one of their order thither; but, though they have long solicited this point with government here, they have not as yet been able to obtain it; so apprehensive are ministers of engaging in any novel measure.

I hope soon to have an opportunity of conferring with you, and therefore say no more at present on this subject. I am, my dear friend, yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN

TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY.

Turbulence in London. — Affair of Wilkes. — A Youth killed by the Soldiery.

London, 14 May, 1768.

DEAR SIR,

I received your favor of March 31st. It is now, with the messages, in the hands of the minister, so that I cannot be more particular at present in answering it than to say, I should have a melancholy prospect in going home to such public confusion, if I did not leave greater confusion behind me. The newspapers, and my letter of this day to Mr. Ross, will inform you of the miserable situation this country is in. While I am writing, a great mob of coal porters fills the street, carrying a wretch of their business upon poles to be ducked, and otherwise punished at their pleasure, for working at the old wages. All respect to law and government seems to be lost among the common people, who are moreover continually inflamed by seditious scribblers, to trample on authority and every thing that used to keep them in order.

The Parliament is now sitting, but will not continue long together, nor undertake any material business. The court of King's Bench postponed giving sentence against Wilkes on his outlawry till the next term, intimidated, as some say, by his popularity, and willing to get rid of the affair for a time, till it should be seen what the Parliament would conclude as to his membership. The Commons, at least some of them, resent that conduct, which has thrown a burthen on them it might have eased them of, by pillorying or punishing him in some infamous manner, that would have given better ground for expelling him the House.

His friends complain of it as a delay of justice, say the court knew the outlawry to be defective, and that they must finally pronounce it void, but would punish him by long confinement. Great mobs of his adherents have assembled before the prison, the guards have fired on them; it is said five or six are killed, and sixteen or seventeen wounded; and some circumstances have attended this military execution, such as its being done by the Scotch regiment, the pursuing a lad, and killing him at his father's house, &c. &c., that exasperate people exceedingly, and more mischief seems brewing. Several of the soldiers are imprisoned. If they are not hanged, it is feared there will be more and greater mobs; and, if they are, that no soldier will assist in suppressing any mob hereafter. The prospect either way is gloomy. It is said the English soldiers cannot be confided in, to act against these mobs, being suspected as rather inclined to favor and join them.

I am preparing for my return, and hope for the pleasure of finding you well, when I shall have an opportunity of communicating to you more particularly the state of things here relating to our American affairs, which I cannot so well do by letter. I enclose for you a report of Sir M—— L——, counsel to the Board of Trade, on one of your late acts. I suppose it has had its effect, so that the repeal will be of little consequence. In the mean time, I am with sincere esteem and affection, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN.

Motion to remove him from his Place of Deputy Postmaster-General.—Conversation with Mr. Grey Cooper, Secretary of the Treasury.—Duke of Grafton.—Sir John Pringle.—Lord Clare.—Apprehends a Breach between the two Countries.

London, 2 July, 1768.

DEAR SON,

Since my last, I have received yours of May 10th, dated at Amboy, which I shall answer particularly by next week's packet. I purpose now to take notice of that part, wherein you say it was reported at Philadelphia I was to be appointed to a certain office here, which my friends all wished, but you did not believe it for the reason I had mentioned. Instead of my being appointed to a new office, there has been a motion made to deprive me of that I now hold,* and, I believe, for the same reason, though that was not the reason given out, viz. my being too much of an American; but, as it came from Lord Sandwich, our new postmaster-general, who is of the Bedford party, and a friend of Mr. Grenville, I have no doubt that the reason he gave out, viz. my non-residence, was only the pretence, and that the other was the true reason; especially as it is the practice in many other instances to allow the non-residence of American officers, who spend their salaries here, provided care is taken that the business be done by deputy or otherwise.

The first notice I had of this was from my fast friend Mr. Cooper, secretary of the treasury. He desired me, by a little note, to call upon him there,

* Deputy Postmaster-General in America.

which I did; when he told me, that the Duke of Grafton had mentioned to him some discourse of Lord Sandwich's, as if the office suffered by my absence, and that it would be fit to appoint another, as I seemed constantly to reside in England; that Mr. Todd, secretary of the postoffice, had also been with the Duke, talking to the same purpose, &c.; that the Duke had wished him (Mr. Cooper) to mention this to me, and to say to me, at the same time, that, though my going to my post might remove the objection, yet, if I choose rather to reside in England, my merit was such in his opinion, as to entitle me to something better here, and it should not be his fault if I was not well provided for. I told Mr. Cooper, that, without having heard any exception had been taken to my residence here, I was really preparing to return home, and expected to be gone in a few weeks; that, however, I was extremely sensible of the Duke's goodness, in giving me this intimation, and very thankful for his favorable disposition towards me; that, having lived long in England, and contracted a friendship and affection for many persons here, it could not but be agreeable to me to remain among them some time longer, if not for the rest of my life; and that there was no nobleman, to whom I could, from sincere respect for his great abilities and amiable qualities, so cordially attach myself, or to whom I should so willingly be obliged for the provision he mentioned, as to the Duke of Grafton, if his Grace should think I could, in any station where he might place me, be serviceable to him and to the public.

Mr. Cooper said, he was very glad to hear I was still willing to remain in England, as it agreed so perfectly with his inclinations to keep me here; wished me to leave my name at the Duke of Grafton's as

soon as possible, and to be at the treasury again the next board day. I accordingly called at the Duke's, and left my card; and when I went next to the treasury, his Grace not being there, Mr. Cooper carried me to Lord North, chancellor of the exchequer, who said very obligingly, after talking of some American affairs, "I am told by Mr. Cooper, that you are not unwilling to stay with us. I hope we shall find some way of making it worth your while." I thanked his Lordship, and said I should stay with pleasure, if I could any ways be useful to government. He made me a compliment and I took my leave, Mr. Cooper carrying me away with him to his country-house at Richmond to dine and stay all night.

He then told me, that Mr. Todd had been again at the Duke of Grafton's, and that, upon his (Mr. Cooper's) speaking in my behalf, Mr. Todd had changed his style, and said I had, to be sure, a great deal of merit with the office, having by my good management regulated the posts in America, so as greatly to increase the revenue; that he had had great satisfaction in corresponding with me while I was there, and he believed they never had a better officer, &c. The Thursday following, being the birthday, I met with Mr. Todd at court. He was very civil, took me with him in his coach to the King's Arms in the city, where I had been invited to dine by Mr. Trevor, with the gentlemen of the postoffice; we had a good deal of chat after dinner between us two, in which he told me, Lord Sandwich (who was very sharp) had taken notice of my stay in England, and said, If *one* could do the business, why should there be *two*? On my telling Mr. Todd that I was going home, (which I still say to everybody, not knowing but that what is intimated above may fail of taking

effect,) he looked blank, and seemed disconcerted a little, which makes me think some friend of his was to have been vested with my place; but this is surmise only. We parted very good friends.

That day I received another note from Mr. Cooper, directing me to be at the Duke of Grafton's next morning, whose porter had orders to let me in. I went accordingly, and was immediately admitted. But his Grace being then engaged in some unexpected business, with much condescension and politeness made that apology for his not discoursing with me then, but wished me to be at the treasury at twelve the next Tuesday. I went accordingly, when Mr. Cooper told me something had called the Duke into the country, and the board was put off, which was not known till it was too late to send me word; but was glad I was come, as he might then fix another day for me to go again with him into the country. The day fixed was Thursday. I returned yesterday; should have stayed till Monday, but for writing by these vessels. He assures me the Duke has it at heart to do something handsome for me. Sir John Pringle, who is anxious for my stay, says Mr. Cooper is the honestest man of a courtier that he ever knew, and he is persuaded they are in earnest to keep me.

The piece I wrote against smuggling, in the *Chronicle* of November last, and one in April, on the Laboring Poor, which you will find in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for that month, have been lately shown by Mr. Cooper to the chancellor of the exchequer, and to the Duke, who have expressed themselves much pleased with them. I am to be again at the treasury on Tuesday next, by appointment of Mr. Cooper. Thus particular I have been, that you may judge of this affair.

For my own thoughts, I must tell you, that, though I did not think fit to decline any favor so great a man expressed an inclination to do me, because at court, if one shows an unwillingness to be obliged, it is often construed as a mark of mental hostility, and one makes an enemy; yet, so great is my inclination to be at home and at rest, that I shall not be sorry, if this business falls through, and I am suffered to retire with my old post; nor indeed very sorry, if they take that from me too on account of my zeal for America, in which some of my friends have hinted to me that I have been too open. I shall soon be able, I hope, by the next packet, to give you farther light. In the mean time, as no one but Sir John knows of the treaty, I talk daily of going in the August packet at farthest. And when the late Georgia appointment of me to be their agent is mentioned, as what may detain me, I say, I have yet received no letters from that Assembly, acquainting me what their business may be; that I shall probably hear from them before that packet sails; that, if it is extraordinary and of such a nature as to make my stay another winter necessary, I may possibly stay, because there would not be time for them to choose another; but, if it is common business, I shall leave it with Mr. Jackson and proceed.

I do not, by the way, know how that appointment came about, having no acquaintance that I can recollect in that country. It has been mentioned in the papers some time, but I have only just now received a letter from Governor Wright, informing me that he had that day given his assent to it, and expressing his desire to correspond with me on all occasions, saying the Committee, as soon as they could get their papers

ready, would write to me and acquaint me with their business.*

We have lost Lord Clare from the Board of Trade. He took me home from court the Sunday before his removal, that I might dine with him as he said alone, and talk over American affairs. He seemed as attentive to them, as if he was to continue ever so long. He gave me a great deal of flummery; saying, that, though at my Examination I answered some of his questions a little pertly, yet he liked me, from that day, for the spirit I showed in defence of my country; and at parting, after we had drunk a bottle and a half of claret each, he hugged and kissed me, protesting he never in his life met with a man he was so much in love with. This I write for your amusement. You see by the nature of this whole letter, that it is to yourself only. It may serve to prepare your mind for any event that shall happen.

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* Dr. Franklin was appointed Agent for Georgia by an ordinance of the Assembly, dated April 11th, 1768. Noble Wimberly Jones was Speaker of the Assembly.

The ordinance states, that "Benjamin Franklin is hereby declared, nominated, and appointed agent to represent, solicit, and transact the affairs of this province in Great Britain; that he is fully authorized and empowered to follow and pursue all such instructions, as he shall from time to time receive from the General Assembly, or from the committee hereinafter appointed to correspond with him; that there shall be allowed and paid for his agency the sum of one hundred pounds sterling money of Great Britain, over and above his reasonable charges and disbursements on his application to the several offices and boards in negotiating the affairs of the province; and that he shall continue agent for one whole year, to commence on the first day of June next."

The members of the committee appointed to correspond with him were, James Habersham, Noble Jones, James Edward Powell, Lewis Johnson, Clement Martin, Alexander Wylly, John Mullryne, John Smith, Noble Wimberly Jones, John Milledge, John Simpson, Archibald Bulloch, William Ewen, and Joseph Gibbons, or any seven of them, provided two of the seven were of the Council.

The appointment was annually renewed while he remained in England, and the salary was enlarged to two hundred pounds a year.

If Mr. Grenville comes into power again, in any department respecting America, I must refuse to accept of any thing that may seem to put me in his power, because I apprehend a breach between the two countries; and that refusal might give offence. So that, you see, a turn of a die may make a great difference in our affairs. We may be either promoted, or discarded; one or the other seems likely soon to be the case, but it is hard to divine which. I am myself grown so old as to feel much less than formerly the spur of ambition; and, if it were not for the flattering expectation, that by being fixed here I might more effectually serve my country, I should certainly determine for retirement, without a moment's hesitation. I am, as ever, your affectionate father,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY.

Removal of Lord Clare. — Lord Hillsborough restored to Office. — Transactions in America occasion much Reflection. — Wilkes's Outlawry.

London, 2 July, 1768.

DEAR SIR,

Since my last, nothing material has occurred here relating to American affairs, except the removal of Lord Clare from the head of the Board of Trade to the treasury of Ireland, and the return of Lord Hillsborough to the Board of Trade as first commissioner, retaining the title and powers of secretary of state for the colonies. This change was very sudden and unexpected. My Lord Clare took me home from court to dine with him but two days before, saying he should be without other company, and wanted to talk with

me on sundry American businesses. We had accordingly a good deal of conversation on our affairs, in which he seemed to interest himself with all the attention, that could be supposed in a minister, who expected to continue in the management of them. This was on Sunday, and on the Tuesday following he was removed. Whether my Lord Hillsborough's administration will be more stable, than others have been for a long time, is quite uncertain; but, as his inclinations are rather favorable towards us (so far as he thinks consistent with what he supposes the unquestionable rights of Britain), I cannot but wish it may continue, especially as these perpetual mutations prevent the progress of all business.

But another change is now talked of, that gives me great uneasiness. Several of the Bedford party being now got in, it has been for some time apprehended, that they would sooner or later draw their friend Mr. Grenville in after them. It is now said, he is to be secretary of state, in the room of Lord Shelburne. If this should take place, or if in any other shape he comes again into power, I fear his sentiments of the Americans, and theirs of him, will occasion such clashings as may be attended with fatal consequences. The last accounts from your part of the world, of the combinations relating to commerce with this country, and resolutions concerning the duties here laid upon it, occasion much serious reflection; and it is thought the points in dispute between the two countries will not fail to come under the consideration of Parliament early in next session. Our friends wonder, that I persist in my intention of returning this summer, alleging that I might be of much more service to my country here, than I can be there, and wishing me by all means to stay the ensuing

winter, as the presence of persons well acquainted with America, and of ability to represent these affairs in a proper light, will then be highly necessary. My private concerns, however, so much require my presence at home, that I have not yet suffered myself to be persuaded by their partial opinion of me.

The tumults and disorders, that prevailed here lately, have now pretty well subsided. Wilkes's outlawry is reversed, but he is sentenced to twenty-two months imprisonment, and *one thousand pounds* fine, which his friends, who feared he would be pilloried, seem rather satisfied with. The importation of corn, a pretty good hay harvest, now near over, and the prospect of plenty from a fine crop of wheat, make the poor more patient, in hopes of an abatement in the price of provisions; so that, unless want of employment by the failure of American orders should distress them, they are like to be tolerably quiet.

I purpose writing to you again by the packet that goes next Saturday, and therefore now only add that I am, with sincere esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO JOHN ALLEYNE.

On Early Marriages.

Craven Street, 9 August, 1768.

DEAR JACK,

You desire, you say, my impartial thoughts on the subject of an early marriage, by way of answer to the numberless objections that have been made by numerous persons to your own. You may remember, when you consulted me on the occasion, that I thought

youth on both sides to be no objection. Indeed, from the marriages that have fallen under my observation, I am rather inclined to think, that early ones stand the best chance of happiness. The temper and habits of the young are not become so stiff and uncomplying, as when more advanced in life; they form more easily to each other, and hence many occasions of disgust are removed. And, if youth has less of that prudence, which is necessary to manage a family, yet the parents and elder friends of young married persons are generally at hand to afford their advice, which amply supplies that defect; and, by early marriage, youth is sooner formed to regular and useful life; and possibly some of those accidents or connexions, that might have injured the constitution, or reputation, or both, are thereby happily prevented.

Particular circumstances of particular persons may possibly sometimes make it prudent to delay entering into that state; but in general, when nature has rendered our bodies fit for it, the presumption is in nature's favor, that she has not judged amiss in making us desire it. Late marriages are often attended, too, with this further inconvenience, that there is not the same chance that the parents will live to see their offspring educated. "*Late children,*" says the Spanish proverb, "*are early orphans.*" A melancholy reflection to those, whose case it may be! With ûs in America, marriages are generally in the morning of life; our children are therefore educated and settled in the world by noon; and thus, our business being done, we have an afternoon and evening of cheerful leisure to ourselves; such as our friend at present enjoys. By these early marriages we are blessed with more children; and from the mode among us, founded by nature, every mother suckling and nursing her

own child, more of them are raised. Thence the swift progress of population among us, unparalleled in Europe.

In fine, I am glad you are married, and congratulate you most cordially upon it. You are now in the way of becoming a useful citizen; and you have escaped the unnatural state of celibacy for life, the fate of many here, who never intended it, but who, having too long postponed the change of their condition, find at length, that it is too late to think of it, and so live all their lives in a situation that greatly lessens a man's value. An odd volume of a set of books bears not the value of its proportion to the set. What think you of the odd half of a pair of scissors? It cannot well cut any thing; it may possibly serve to scrape a trencher.

Pray make my compliments and best wishes acceptable to your bride. I am old and heavy, or I should ere this have presented them in person. I shall make but small use of the old man's privilege, that of giving advice to younger friends. Treat your wife always with respect; it will procure respect to you, not only from her, but from all that observe it. Never use a slighting expression to her, even in jest, for slights in jest, after frequent bandyings, are apt to end in angry earnest. Be studious in your profession, and you will be learned. Be industrious and frugal, and you will be rich. Be sober and temperate, and you will be healthy. Be in general virtuous, and you will be happy. At least, you will, by such conduct, stand the best chance for such consequences. I pray God to bless you both; being ever your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

London, 5 October, 1768.

My dear Child,

It feels very strange to me to have ships and packets come in, and no letters from you. But I do not complain of it, because I know the reason is, my having written to you that I was coming home. That you may not have the same disagreeable sensation, I write this line, though I have written largely by the late ship, and therefore have little left to say. I have lately been in the country to spend a few days at friends' houses, and to breathe a little fresh air. I have made no very long journey this summer as usual, finding myself in very good health, a greater share of which, I believe few enjoy at my time of life; but we are not to expect it will be always sunshine. Cousin Folger, who is just arrived from Boston, tells me he saw our son and daughter Bache at that place, and that they were going farther, being very well, which I was glad to hear. My love to them and all friends, from your ever affectionate husband,

B. Franklin.

FROM JOSEPH GALLOWAY TO B. FRANKLIN.

Affairs of Pennsylvania. — Two Regiments arrived in Boston. — Governor Franklin attending an Indian Treaty at Fort Stanwix.

Philadelphia, 17 October, 1768.

Dear Sir,

I have for some time omitted to write to you, from an apprehension that my letters might not meet you in England. But finding by your favor of August

13th, now before me, that you have altered your intention of seeing America this fall, I again resume my pen.

The new Assembly of this province, chiefly composed of the old members, adjourned on Saturday last to the 2d of January. They have again appointed yourself and Mr. Jackson their agents, to whom I enclose a letter from the Committee of Correspondence. You will perceive by it, that they have a sixth time renewed the instructions relating to a change of government, every member now approving of the measure, save the chief justice. So that you are not to judge of the desire of the House to have the measure accomplished by the brevity of the letter, which was occasioned by the shortness of their sitting, and the fulness of the instructions of former Houses, which rendered much on the subject unnecessary.

I am much obliged by the particular account of the situation in which this matter stands. No part of it, which you wish to be concealed, shall transpire. You really judge right; should the petitions be rejected or neglected, the crown will never have the like request made by the people, nor such another opportunity of resuming one of the most beneficial governments in America. Their own welfare will oblige them to court the proprietary favor; and, should they continue to gratify the people, by the lenient measures adopted during the last year, they will place all their confidence in them, and lose all ideas of loyalty or affection to the person, where alone they ought to be fixed. The revenues of our Proprietaries are immense; not much short, at this time, of one hundred thousand pounds per annum. And, had they as much policy as money, they might easily find means with their vast treasure so to endear themselves to the people, as to prevail

on them to forget all duty and affection to others. As to the people's paying, it never can be done, nor is it just they should; nor would they ever agree to establish fixed salaries on governors, for the reasons you have mentioned.

It is truly discouraging to a people, who wish well to the mother country, and by their dutiful behaviour during these times of American confusion have recommended themselves to the crown, to have an application so honorable and beneficial to the latter so much neglected. Would the ministry coolly attend to the matter, it would certainly be otherwise. However, I am convinced, should the people once despair of the change, either the greatest confusion, or the consequence you have pointed out, will assuredly ensue.

Two regiments, commanded by Colonel Dalrymple, are arrived at Boston, and we learn the town is providing quarters for them; so that, I hope, the mischiefs, which some have thought would attend that measure, will not follow. Great pains have been taken in this city by some hotheaded, indiscreet men, to raise a spirit of violence against the late act of Parliament; but the design was crushed in its beginning by our friends so effectually, that, I think, we shall not soon have it renewed.*

Your continuance in London this winter gives the Assembly much satisfaction, as there is a great probability that American affairs will come before the pres-

* Mr. Johnson, the agent in London from Connecticut, wrote to Governor Pitkin, on the 23d of July, as follows.

"The intelligence relating to the commotions in Boston has been received here with equal concern and indignation. The impressions it at first made were surprising. The merchants were in fear for their property and their trade, the stocks fell greatly, and there seemed to be a general consternation; but indignation soon took place of every other sentiment, and all parties united in denouncing vengeance (as

ent Parliament, and they have the fullest confidence in you. My good friend, Governor Franklin, is now at Fort Stanwix with Sir William Johnson, where a treaty is holding respecting a general boundary. I have had a letter from him since his arrival there, and he is well. I write in much hurry, which will apologize for incorrectness. Believe me, my dear friend, with the most perfect esteem, &c.

JOSEPH GALLOWAY.

TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.

Prudential Advice.

London, October, 1768.

I see very clearly the unhappiness of your situation, and that it does not arise from any fault in you. I pity you most sincerely. I should not, however, have thought of giving you advice on this occasion, if you had not requested it, believing, as I do, that your own good sense is more than sufficient to direct you in every point of duty to others and yourself. If, then, I should advise you to any thing, that may be contrary to your own opinion, do not imagine, that I shall condemn you if you do not follow such advice. I shall only think, that, from a better acquaintance with circumstances, you form a better judgment of what is fit for you to do.

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they expressed it) against that insolent town. A Cabinet Council was immediately called, and they have sat several times since upon the subject. Their determinations have not yet transpired; but it is generally believed that troops and ships of war will be ordered out, to join those already supposed to be there from Halifax and New York, with instructions to reduce the town to order, and hold it under a strong military restraint."

Now, I conceive with you, that ——, both from her affection to you, and from the long habit of having you with her, would really be miserable without you. Her temper, perhaps, was never of the best; and, when that is the case, age seldom mends it. Much of her unhappiness must arise from thence; and, since wrong turns of mind, when confirmed by time, are almost as little in our power to cure, as those of the body, I think with you, that her case is a compassionable one.

If she had, through her own imprudence, brought on herself any grievous sickness, I know you would think it your duty to attend and nurse her with filial tenderness, even were your own health to be endangered by it. Your apprehension, therefore, is right, that it may be your duty to live with her, though inconsistent with your happiness and your interest; but this can only mean present interest and present happiness; for I think your future, greater, and more lasting interest and happiness will arise from the reflection, that you have done your duty, and from the high rank you will ever hold in the esteem of all that know you, for having persevered in doing that duty under so many and great discouragements.

My advice, then, must be, that you return to her as soon as the time proposed for your visit is expired; and that you continue, by every means in your power, to make the remainder of her days as comfortable to her as possible. Invent amusements for her; be pleased when she accepts of them, and patient when she perhaps peevishly rejects them. I know this is hard, but I think you are equal to it; not from any servility of temper but from abundant goodness. In the mean time, all your friends, sensible of your present uncomfortable situation, should endeavour to ease your

burden, by acting in concert with you, and to give her as many opportunities as possible of enjoying the pleasures of society, for your sake.

Nothing is more apt to sour the temper of aged people, than the apprehension that they are neglected; and they are extremely apt to entertain such suspicions. It was therefore that I proposed asking her to be of our late party; but, your mother disliking it, the motion was dropped, as some others have been, by my too great easiness, contrary to my judgment. Not but that I was sensible her being with us might have lessened our pleasure, but I hoped it might have prevented you some pain.

In fine, nothing can contribute to true happiness, that is inconsistent with duty; nor can a course of action, conformable to it, be finally without an ample reward. For God governs; and he is *good*. I pray him to direct you; and, indeed, you will never be without his direction, if you humbly ask it, and show yourself always ready to obey it. Farewell, *my* dear friend, and believe me ever sincerely and affectionately *yours*,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO A FRIEND.*

Desires an amicable and equitable Adjustment of Differences between England and the Colonies.

London, 28 November, 1768.

DEAR SIR,

I received your obliging favor of the 12th instant. Your sentiments of the importance of the present dispute between Great Britain and the colonies appear to

* The name of the person, to whom this letter was written, is not known.

me extremely just. There is nothing I wish for more, than to see it amicably and equitably settled.

But Providence will bring about its own ends by its own means; and if it intends the downfall of a nation, that nation will be so blinded by its pride and other passions, as not to see its danger, or how its fall may be prevented.

Being born and bred in one of the countries, and having lived long and made many agreeable connexions of friendship in the other, I wish all prosperity to both; but I have talked and written so much and so long on the subject, that my acquaintance are weary of hearing, and the public of reading any more of it, which begins to make me weary of talking and writing; especially as I do not find that I have gained any point, in either country, except that of rendering myself suspected by my impartiality; in England, of being too much an American, and in America, of being too much an Englishman. Your opinion, however, weighs with me, and encourages me to try one effort more, in a full, though concise statement of facts, accompanied with arguments drawn from those facts; to be published about the meeting of Parliament, after the holidays.* If any good may be done I shall rejoice; but at present I almost despair.

Have you ever seen the barometer so low as of late? The 22d instant, mine was at 28·41, and yet the weather fine and fair. With sincere esteem, I am, dear friend, yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

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* It is uncertain to which of the author's publications he here alludes, or whether he executed the design proposed. There may possibly be an error of a year in the date of the letter, and, in such case, the piece may be the one entitled "Causes of the American Discontents before 1768," which was published on the 7th of January of that year. See Vol. IV. p. 242.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

London, 21 December, 1768.

My dear Child,

I wonder to hear, that my friends were backward in bringing you my letters when they arrived, and think it must be a mere imagination of yours, the effect of some melancholy humor you happened then to be in. I condole with you sincerely on poor Debby's account, and I hope she got well to her husband with her two children.

You say in yours of October 18th, "For me to give you any uneasiness about your affairs here, would be of no service, and I shall not at this time enter on it." I am made by this to apprehend, that something is amiss, and perhaps have more uneasiness from the uncertainty, than I should have had, if you had told me what it was. I wish, therefore, you would be explicit in your next. I rejoice, that my good old friend, Mr. Coleman, is got safe home and continues well.

Remember me respectfully to Mr. Rhoads, Mr. Wharton, Mr. Roberts, Mr. and Mrs. Duffield, neighbour Thomson, Dr. and Mrs. Redman, Mrs. Hopkinson, Mr. Duché, Dr. Morgan, Mr. Hopkinson, and all the other friends you have from time to time mentioned as inquiring after me. As you ask me, I can assure you, that I do really intend, God willing, to return in the summer, and that as soon as possible after settling matters with Mr. Foxcroft, whom I expect in April or May. I am glad that you find so much reason to be satisfied with Mr. Bache. I hope all will prove for the best. Captain Falconer has been arrived at Plymouth some time, but, the winds being contrary, could get no farther; so I have not yet received the apples, meal,

&c., and fear they will be spoiled. I send with this some of the new kind of oats much admired here to make oatmeal of, and for other uses, as being free from husks; and some Swiss barley, six rows to an ear. Perhaps our friends may like to try them, and you may distribute the seed among them. Give some to Mr. Roberts, Mr. Rhoads, Mr. Thomson, Mr. Bartram, our son, and others.

I hope the cold you complain of, in two of your letters, went off without any ill consequences. We are, as you observe, blest with a great share of health, considering our years, now sixty-three. For my own part, I think of late that my constitution rather mends. I have had but one touch of the gout, and that a light one, since I left you. It was just after my arrival here, so that this is the fourth winter I have been free. Walking a great deal tires me less than it used to do. I feel stronger and more active. Yet I would not have you think, that I fancy I shall grow young again. I know that men of my bulk often fail suddenly. I know that, according to the course of nature, I cannot at most continue much longer, and that the living even of another day is uncertain. I therefore now form no schemes, but such as are of immediate execution, indulging myself in no future prospect except one, that of returning to Philadelphia, there to spend the evening of life with my friends and family.

Mr. and Mrs. Strahan, and Mr. and Mrs. West, when I last saw them, de[illegible]d to be kindly remembered to you. Mrs. Stev[illegible]s [illegible] our P[illegible] send their love. Mr. Coombe, who [illegible] very a[illegible]le young man, lodges with us for [illegible]t. A[illegible] dear Debby. I am, as ever, y[illegible]ate [illegible]

[illegible]RANKLIN

FROM NOBLE W. JONES TO B. FRANKLIN.

With an Address from the Assembly of Georgia to the King.

Savannah, in Georgia, 24 December, 1768.

SIR,

By direction of the Commons House of Assembly of this province, I herewith transmit to you their address to our most gracious Sovereign, which I, on their behalf, desire you will please to have presented, as soon after the receipt as possibly may be; the manner of presenting, whether in person, or otherwise, is left to you.

I also enclose you the resolution of the House, authorizing me to transmit the same. The House, entirely confiding in your approved zeal for the welfare and preservation of the rights and liberties of America, make not the least doubt of your concurring with the agents of the other colonies in endeavours to obtain a repeal of those acts of the Parliament of Great Britain so grievous to his Majesty's loyal subjects of this continent, and destructive of that harmony which ought to, and they earnestly wish may, subsist between our mother country and its colonies. A restoration of which we doubt not you and they will earnestly, warmly, and as much as possible, promote.* I am, &c.

N. W. JONES.

* The Assembly said, in their petition to the King; "We acknowledge a constitutional subordination to the mother country and to its supreme legislature, at the same time, with inexpressible concern, we must lament, that by their imposition of internal taxes we are deprived of the privilege, which, with humble deference, we apprehend to be our indubitable right, of granting away our own property; and are thereby prevented from a compliance with any requisition, which your Majesty may graciously please to make, and which, to the utmost of our abilities, we have hitherto always most cheerfully obeyed."

TO MICHAEL COLLINSON.

Biographical Facts respecting Peter Collinson.

[Date uncertain.]

DEAR SIR,

Understanding that an account of our dear departed friend, Mr. Peter Collinson,* is intended to be given to the public, I cannot omit expressing my approbation of the design. The characters of good men are exemplary, and often stimulate the well disposed to an imitation, beneficial to mankind, and honorable to themselves. And as you may be unacquainted with the following instances of his zeal and usefulness in promoting knowledge, which fell within my observation, I take the liberty of informing you, that in 1730, a subscription library being set on foot at Philadelphia, he encouraged the design by making several very valuable presents to it, and procuring others from his friends; and, as the library company had a considerable sum

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* Peter Collinson, a celebrated botanist, was descended from a family of ancient standing in the county of Westmoreland, but born himself in 1693, in Clement's Lane, Lombard Street. His parents realized a handsome fortune by trade in Gracechurch Street, the bulk of which coming to Peter, who was the eldest son, he was enabled to follow his favorite pursuit of natural history. He had one of the finest gardens in England, at Peckham, in Surrey, whence he removed in 1749 to Mill Hill, in the parish of Hendon in Middlesex, where he died, August 11th, 1768. Mr. Collinson kept up a correspondence with men of science in all parts of the world, and he sent the first electrical machine that was ever seen in America, as a present to the Library Company at Philadelphia. He was also a liberal contributor to the public library of that city; and an intimate friend of Dr. Franklin, who received from him many hints and papers on the subject of electricity. — W. T. F.

In the year 1770, Michael Collinson published a memoir, entitled. "Some Account of Peter Collinson." As it was the design of the above letter to communicate facts for this memoir, it was probably written not long after his death. There is a biographical notice of him, also, appended to Dr. Lettsom's *Memoirs of Dr. John Fothergill.*

arising annually to be laid out in books, and needed a judicious friend in London to transact the business for them, he voluntarily and cheerfully undertook that service, and executed it for more than thirty years successively, assisting in the choice of books, and taking the whole care of collecting and shipping them, without ever charging or accepting any consideration for his trouble. The success of this library (greatly owing to his kind countenance and good advice) encouraged the erecting others in different places on the same plan; and it is supposed there are now upwards of thirty subsisting in the several colonies, which have contributed greatly to the spreading of useful knowledge in that part of the world; the books he recommended being all of that kind, and the catalogue of this first library being much respected and followed by those libraries that succeeded.

During the same time he transmitted to the directors of the library the earliest accounts of every new European improvement in agriculture and the arts, and every philosophical discovery; among which, in 1745, he sent over an account of the new German experiments in electricity, together with a glass tube, and some directions for using it, so as to repeat those experiments. This was the first notice I had of that curious subject, which I afterwards prosecuted with some diligence, being encouraged by the friendly reception he gave to the letters I wrote to him upon it. Please to accept this small testimony of mine to his memory, for which I shall ever have the utmost respect; and believe me, with sincere esteem, dear Sir, your most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO LORD KAMES.

Improvement in Political Science. — Account of an Act of Parliament restraining Paper Money in the Colonies. — Smoky Chimneys.

London, 1 January, 1769.

My dear Friend,

It is always a great pleasure to me to hear from you, and would be a much greater to be with you, to converse with you on the subjects you mention, or any other. Possibly I may one day enjoy that pleasure. In the mean time, we may use the privilege, that the knowledge of letters affords us, of conversing at a distance by the pen.

I am glad to find you are turning your thoughts to political subjects, and particularly to those of money, taxes, manufactures, and commerce. The world is yet much in the dark on these important points; and many mischievous mistakes are continually made in the management of them. Most of our acts of Parliament for regulating them are, in my opinion, little better than political blunders, owing to ignorance of the science, or to the designs of crafty men, who mislead the legislature, proposing something under the specious appearance of public good, while the real aim is, to sacrifice that to their own private interest. I hope a good deal of light may be thrown on these subjects by your sagacity and acuteness. I only wish I could first have engaged you in discussing the weighty points in dispute between Britain and the colonies. But the long letter I wrote you for that purpose, in February or March, 1767, perhaps never reached your

hand, for I have not yet had a word from you in answer to it.*

The act you inquire about had its rise thus. During the war, Virginia issued great sums of paper money for the payment of their troops, to be sunk in a number of years by taxes. The British merchants trading thither received these bills in payment for their goods, purchasing tobacco with them to send home. The crop of tobacco one or two years falling short, the factors, who were desirous of making a speedy remittance, sought to pay, with the paper money, bills of exchange. The number of bidders for these bills raised the price of them thirty per cent above par. This was deemed so much loss to the purchasers, and supposed to arise from a depreciation of the paper money. The merchants, on this supposition, founded a complaint against that currency to the Board of Trade. Lord Hillsborough, then at the head of that Board, took up the matter strongly, and drew a report, which was presented to the King in Council, against all paper currency in the colonies. And, though there was no complaint against it from any merchants, but those trading to Virginia, all those trading to the other colonies being satisfied with its operation, yet the ministry proposed, and the Parliament came into the making a general act, forbidding all future emissions of paper money, that should be a legal tender in any colony whatever.

The Virginia merchants have since had the mortification to find, that, if they had kept the paper money a year or two, the abovementioned loss would have

* This letter miscarried at the time, or rather it was supposed to have been intercepted and sent to the ministry. A copy of it was afterwards transmitted to Lord Kames. It was dated April 11th, 1767, and may be found under that date.

been avoided; for, as soon as tobacco became more plenty, and of course bills of exchange also, the exchange fell as much as it before had risen. I was in America when the act passed. On my return to England, I got the merchants trading to New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, &c., to meet, to consider and join in an application to have the restraining act repealed. To prevent this application, a copy was put into the merchants' hands of Lord Hillsborough's report, by which it was supposed they might be convinced, that such an application would be wrong. They desired my sentiments on it, which I gave in the paper I send you enclosed. I have no copy by me of the report itself; but in my answer you will see a faithful abridgment of all the arguments or reasons it contained. Lord Hillsborough has read my answer, but says he is not convinced by it, and adheres to his former opinion. We know nothing can be done in Parliament, that the minister is absolutely against, and therefore we let that point rest for the present. And, as I think a scarcity of money will work with our other present motives for lessening our fond extravagance in the use of the superfluous manufactures of this country, which unkindly grudges us the enjoyment of common rights, and will tend to lead us naturally into industry and frugality, I am grown more indifferent about the repeal of the act, and, if my countrymen will be advised by me, we shall never ask it again.*

There is not, as I conceive, any new principle wanting, to account for the operations of air, and all the affections of smoke in rooms and chimneys; but it is

* See "Remarks and Facts relative to the American Paper Money" in Vol. II. p. 340.

difficult to advise in particular cases at a distance, where one cannot have all the circumstances under view. If two rooms and chimneys are "perfectly similar" in situation, dimension, and all other circumstances, it seems not possible, that, "in summer, when no fire had been in either of them for some months, and in a calm day, a current of air should at the same time go up the chimney of the one, and down the chimney of the other." But such difference may and often does take place, from circumstances in which they are dissimilar, and which dissimilarity is not very obvious to those who have little studied the subject. As to your particular case, which you describe to be, that, "after a whole day's fire, which must greatly heat the vent, yet, when the fire becomes low, so as not to emit any smoke, neighbour smoke immediately begins to descend and fill the room;" this, if not owing to particular winds, may be occasioned by a stronger fire in another room, communicating with yours by a door, the outer air being excluded by the outward door's being shut, whereby the stronger fire finds it easier to be supplied with air down through the vent, in which the weak fire is, and thence through the communicating door, than through the crevices. If this is the circumstance, you will find that a supply of air is only wanting, that may be sufficient for both vents. If this is not the circumstance, send me, if you please, a complete description of your room, its situation, and connexion, and possibly I may form a better judgment. Though I imagine your Professor of Natural Philosophy, Mr. Russel, or Mr. George Clark, may give you as good advice on the subject as I can. But I shall take the liberty of sending you, by the first convenient opportunity, a collection of my philosophical papers lately published, in which you will find some-

thing more relating to the motions of air in chimneys.*

To commence a conversation with you on your new project, I have thrown some of my present sentiments into the concise form of aphorisms, to be examined between us, if you please, and rejected or corrected and confirmed, as we shall find most proper. I send them enclosed.†

With thanks for your good wishes, and with unalterable esteem, I remain, my dear friend, affectionately yours, B. FRANKLIN.

TO JOHN BARTRAM.

A Box for the King. — Recommends to Mr. Bartram to write a Natural History of the Colonies.

London, 9 January, 1769.

MY DEAR OLD FRIEND,

I received your kind letter of November 5th, and the box directed to the King is since come to hand. I have written a line to our late dear friend's son,‡

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* The fourth edition of the author's Philosophical Papers, in a quarto volume of more than five hundred pages, was published in London, with the date of 1769 on the titlepage. Another letter to Lord Kames on smoky chimneys is contained in Vol. VI. p. 280.

† These were probably "*Positions to be examined concerning National Wealth.*" See Vol. II. p. 373.

In his reply to the above letter, Lord Kames said, "The letter you mention, about American affairs, never came to hand. I have an essay on the subject of your Queries, and you shall hear from me soon about our agreeing or differing. I have a great fund of political knowledge reduced into writing, far from being ripe, but fit for your perusal. If you will come to my aid, I know not but that we shall make a very good thing of it. If not, it may be lost to the world, and what a loss will that be!" — *Edinburgh, January 21st*, 1769.

‡ This "dear friend" was Peter Collinson, who had recently died and who had long corresponded with John Bartram.

(who must be best acquainted with the usual manner of transacting your affairs here,) to know whether he will take charge of the delivery of it; if not, to request he would inform me how or to whom it is to be sent for the King. I expect his answer in a day or two, and I shall, when I see him, inquire how your pension is hereafter to be applied for and received, though I suppose he has written to you before this time.*

I hope your health continues, as mine does hitherto; but I wish you would now decline your long and dangerous peregrinations in search of new plants, and remain safe and quiet at home, employing your leisure hours in a work that is much wanted, and which no one besides is so capable of performing; I mean the writing a Natural History of our country. I imagine it would prove profitable to you, and I am sure it would do you honor. My respects and best wishes attend Mrs. Bartram and your family. With sincere esteem I am, as ever, your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. *January 28th.* The box is delivered, according to Mr. Michael Collinson's directions, at Lord Bute's.

* Mr. Bartram, though self-taught and with few advantages, possessed uncommon talents, and, by observation and study, unassisted by books and the instructions of others, made great attainments in botany and natural history. His passionate fondness for this kind of knowledge led him to undertake long and hazardous rambles in the wild and unsettled parts of the country, from Canada to Florida, searching for new plants, collecting rare specimens, and examining nature in all its varieties. Several communications from him were inserted in the Philosophical Transactions; and he also published accounts of his travels and observations. His merit attracted the attention of the King, and he was appointed American botanist to his Britannic Majesty, which station probably entitled him to a pension. No biographer has done any adequate justice to his character or his acquisitions.

I have sent over some seed of naked oats and some of Swiss barley, six rows to one ear. If you would choose to try some of it, call on Mrs. Franklin.

TO LORD KAMES.

Use of Oxen and Horses in Agriculture. — A Measure of Value. — Chosen President of the American Philosophical Society.

London, 21 February, 1769.

My dear Friend,

I received your excellent paper on the preferable use of oxen in agriculture, and have put it in the way of being communicated to the public here. I have observed in America, that the farmers are more thriving in those parts of the country where horned cattle are used, than in those where the labor is done by horses. The latter are said to require twice the quantity of land to maintain them; and after all are not good to eat, at least we do not think them so. Here is a waste of land that might afford subsistence for so many of the human species. Perhaps it was for this reason, that the Hebrew lawgiver, having promised that the children of Israel should be as numerous as the sands of the sea, not only took care to secure the health of individuals by regulating their diet, that they might be fitter for producing children, but also forbade their using horses, as those animals would lessen the quantity of subsistence for men. Thus we find, when they took any horses from their enemies, they destroyed them; and in the commandments, where the labor of the ox and ass is mentioned, and forbidden on the Sabbath, there is no mention of the horse, probably because they were to have none. And, by the great

armies suddenly raised in that small territory they inhabited, it appears to have been very full of people.*

Food is *always* necessary to *all*, and much the greatest part of the labor of mankind is employed in raising provisions for the mouth. Is not this kind of labor, then, the fittest to be the standard by which to measure the values of all other labor, and consequently of all other things whose value depends on the labor of making or procuring them? May not even gold and silver be thus valued? If the labor of the farmer, in producing a bushel of wheat, be equal to the labor of the miner in producing an ounce of silver, will not the bushel of wheat just measure the value of the ounce of silver. The miner must eat; the farmer indeed can live without the ounce of silver, and so perhaps will have some advantage in settling the price. But these discussions I leave to you, as being more able to manage them; only, I will send you a little scrap I wrote some time since on the laws prohibiting foreign commodities.

I congratulate you on your election as president of your Edinburgh Society. I think I formerly took notice to you in conversation, that I thought there had been some similarity in our fortunes, and the circumstances of our lives. This is a fresh instance, for, by letters just received, I find that I was about the same

* There is not in the Jewish law any express prohibition against the use of horses; it is only enjoined, that the Kings should not multiply the breed, or carry on trade with Egypt for the purchase of horses. Deuteronomy, xvii. 16. Solomon was the first of the Kings of Judah who disregarded this ordinance. He had forty thousand stalls of horses, which he brought out of Egypt. 1 Kings, iv. 26; and *ibid.* x. 28. From this time downwards horses were in constant use in the Jewish armies. It is true that the country, from its rocky surface and unfertile soil, was extremely unfit for the maintenance of those animals. — A. F. TYTLER.

time chosen president of our American Philosophical Society, established at Philadelphia.

I have sent by sea, to the care of Mr. Alexander, a little box, containing a few copies of the late edition of my books, for my friends in Scotland. One is directed for you, and one for your Society, which I beg that you and they would accept as a small mark of my respect. With the sincerest esteem and regard, I am, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. I am sorry my letter of 1767, concerning the American disputes, miscarried. I now send you a copy of it from my book. The Examination mentioned in it you have probably seen. Things daily wear a worse aspect, and tend more and more to a breach and final separation.

TO SAMUEL COOPER, AT BOSTON.

London, 24 February, 1769.

DEAR SIR,

I received your favor by Mr. Jeffries. I should have been glad if in any thing I could have served him here. The part I took in the application for your degree* was merely doing justice to merit, which is the duty of an honest man whenever he has the opportunity. I did that duty, indeed, with pleasure and satisfaction to myself, which was sufficient; but I own the pleasure is greatly increased by finding, that you are so good as to accept my endeavours kindly.

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* Degree of Doctor in Divinity, conferred by the University of Edinburgh.

I was about to return home last summer, and had some thoughts of doing it by way of Boston; but the untoward situation of American affairs here induced my friends to advise my staying another winter. I should have been happy in doing any service to our country. The tide is yet strong against us, and our endeavours to turn it have hitherto had but little effect. But it must turn, if your frugal and industrious resolutions continue. Your old governor, Mr. Pownall, appears a warm and zealous friend to the colonies in Parliament, but unfortunately he is very ill heard at present. I have been in constant pain since I heard of troops assembling at Boston, lest the madness of mobs, or the insolence of soldiers, or both, should, when too near each other, occasion some mischief difficult to be prevented or repaired, and which might spread far and wide. I hope, however, that prudence will predominate, and keep all quiet.

A great cause between the city of London and the Dissenters was decided here the year before last in the House of Lords. No account of it has been printed; but, one having been taken in writing, I obtained a copy of it, which I send you, supposing it may afford you and your friends some pleasure.*

* At this time the controversy ran high in the colonies respecting the expediency of having an American bishop of the Episcopal church. On that subject he wrote as follows to his sister, February 23d, 1769.

"Your political disputes I have no objection to, if they are carried on with tolerable decency, and do not become outrageously abusive. They make people acquainted with their rights, and the value of them. But your squabbles about a bishop I wish to see speedily ended. They seem to be unnecessary at present, as the design of sending one is dropped; and, if it were not dropped, I cannot think it a matter of such moment, as to be a sufficient reason for division among you, when there never was more need of your being united. I do not conceive, that bishops residing in America would either be of such ad-

Please to present my respectful compliments to Mrs. Cooper, and to Mr. Bowdoin, when you see him. With sincere and great esteem, I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO SAMUEL COOPER.

Parliament refuse to repeal the Acts imposing Duties in America. — Perseverance in the Resolutions not to import British Manufactures recommended. — The Royal Family. — Parliament. — Governor Pownall.

London, 27 April, 1769.

DEAR SIR,

I received your favor of February 27th, by Captain Carver, and thank you for giving me an opportunity of being acquainted with so great a traveller. I shall be glad if I can render him any service here.*

The Parliament remain fixed in their resolution not to repeal the duty acts this session, and will rise next

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vantage to Episcopalians, or such disadvantage to Anti-episcopalians, as either seem to imagine.

"Each party abuses the other; the profane and the infidel believe both sides, and enjoy the fray; the reputation of religion in general suffers, and its enemies are ready to say, not what was said in the primitive times, *Behold how these Christians love one another*, — but, *Mark how these Christians* HATE *one another!* Indeed, when religious people quarrel about religion, or hungry people about their victuals, it looks as if they had not much of either among them."

* Captain Jonathan Carver, celebrated for his travels in the interior parts of North America, was born in Connecticut, in the year 1732. He served on the frontiers in the French war, with the reputation of a good officer, till the peace of 1763, after which he travelled near the sources of the Mississippi, and on the borders of Lake Superior. He carried his manuscript journal to England, where he met with many embarrassments, and it was not published till 1778. He died in London, in 1780, neglected and in want.

Tuesday. I hope my country folks will remain as fixed in their resolutions of industry and frugality, till these acts are repealed. And, if I could be sure of that, I should almost wish them never to be repealed; being persuaded, that we shall reap more solid and extensive advantages from the steady practice of those two great virtues, than we can possibly suffer damage from all the duties the Parliament of this kingdom can levy on us. They flatter themselves you cannot long subsist without their manufactures. They believe you have not virtue enough to persist in such agreements. They imagine the colonies will differ among themselves, deceive and desert one another, and quietly one after the other submit to the yoke, and return to the use of British fineries. They think, that, though the men may be contented with homespun stuffs, the women will never get the better of their vanity and fondness for English modes and gewgaws. The ministerial people all talk in this strain, and many even of the merchants. I have ventured to assert, that they will all find themselves mistaken; and I rely so much on the spirit of my country, as to be confident I shall not be found a false prophet, though at present not believed.*

I hope nothing that has happened, or may happen, will diminish in the least our loyalty to our Sovereign,

* Mr. Johnson, the agent from Connecticut, in a letter to Governor Pitkin, says; "All the applications of the colonies are rejected or ineffectual. There seems no farther hope, that any thing will be done in their favor this session, and they are left with only a kind of ministerial encouragement, that, if they are *very quiet* and *quite silent upon the right*, and will *humbly ask it as a favor*, *perhaps* the offensive acts shall be repealed *next winter*. Such is the attention paid to the united voice of all America, and this is their boasted readiness to hear and redress all real grievances! That the colonies will resent this treatment of them, nobody can doubt; but I hope wisdom and prudence will still direct all their measures." — *London, March 23d*, 1769.

or affection for this nation in general. I can scarcely conceive a King of better dispositions, of more exemplary virtues, or more truly desirous of promoting the welfare of all his subjects. The experience we have had of the family in the two preceding mild reigns, and the good temper of our young princes, so far as can yet be discovered, promise us a continuance of this felicity.* The body of this people, too, is of a noble and generous nature, loving and honoring the spirit of liberty, and hating arbitrary power of all sorts. We have many, very many, friends among them.

But, as to the Parliament, though I might excuse that which made the acts, as being surprised and misled into the measure, I know not how to excuse this, which, under the fullest conviction of its being a wrong one, resolves to continue it. It is decent, indeed, in your public papers to speak as you do of the "*wisdom and the justice of Parliament;*" but now that the subject is more thoroughly understood, if this new Parliament had been really *wise*, it would not have refused

* The original of this letter, with several others belonging to Dr. Cooper, was seized by a British officer in Boston, soon after the battle of Lexington, when many of the inhabitants, and Dr. Cooper among them, had left the town. The parcel was sent to the King, and the letters themselves, in their original form, are now preserved in the British Museum, having been contained in the library presented by George the Fourth to that institution. Copies of the letters in that collection have been procured for this work, and the above letter is one of the number. Hence the complimentary paragraph, intended only for a private friend, was seen by the King five years after it was written, when Franklin was a member of the Continental Congress, and when, from subsequent experience, his sentiments had changed in regard to the King's good dispositions towards at least one part of his subjects. The letters from Dr. Franklin to Dr. Cooper, which were sent to the King as here mentioned, were those dated February 24th, April 27th, August 3d, 1769; April 14th, June 8th, 1770; February 5th, 1771; January 13th, 1772; February 25th, 1774.

even to receive a petition against the acts; and, if it had been *just*, it would have repealed them, and refunded the money. Perhaps it may be *wiser* and *juster* another year, but that is not to be depended on.

If, under all the insults and oppressions you are now exposed to, you can prudently, as you have lately done, continue quiet, avoiding tumults, but still resolutely keeping up your claims and asserting your rights, you will finally establish them, and this military cloud that now blusters over you will pass away, and do no more harm than a summer thunder shower. But the advantages of your perseverance in industry and frugality will be great and permanent. Your debts will be paid, your farms will be better improved, and yield a greater produce; your real wealth will increase in a plenty of every useful home production, and all the true enjoyments of life, even though no foreign trade should be allowed you; and this handicraft, shop-keeping state, will, for its own sake, learn to behave more civilly to its customers.*

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* The *associations*, as they were called, or resolutions not to import goods from Great Britain, had been unequally observed in the different colonies, as will appear by the following statement, taken from the custom-house entries, of the value of all the goods exported from England to the several colonies enumerated, from Christmas 1767 to Christmas 1769.

	1767 to 1768.	1768 to 1769.
New England . . .	£419,000	£207,000
New York	482,000	74,000
Pennsylvania . . .	432,000	119,000
Maryland and Virginia	475,000	488,000
Carolina	209,000	306,000

This summary shows a large decrease in the amount of goods exported to the eastern and middle colonies, particularly New York and Pennsylvania, but an increase at the south. This is in part explained by the fact, that the necessities of the southern colonies for foreign goods were much greater than at the east, where domestic manufactures had to some extent become established. The statement is transcribed from a letter written by Mr. W. S. Johnson, in London, March 6th, 1770

Your late governor, Mr. Pownall, appears a hearty friend to America. He moved last week for a repeal of the acts, and was seconded by General Conway, Sir George Saville, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Trecothick, and others, but did not succeed. A friend has favored me with a copy of the notes taken of Mr. Pownall's speech, which I send you, believing it will be agreeable to you and some other of our friends to see them. You will observe in some parts of it the language a member of Parliament is obliged to hold, on American topics, if he would at all be heard in the House. He has given notice, that he will renew the motion at the next and every session. All Ireland is strongly in favor of the American cause. They have reason to sympathize with us. I send you four pamphlets written in Ireland, or by Irish gentlemen here, in which you will find some excellent, well-said things. With the greatest esteem, I am, my dear friend, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. JANE MECOM.

London, 27 April, 1769.

—Mrs. Stevenson has executed your order, and sends the things in a bandbox directed to you. A new-fashioned something, that was not ready when the box was packed up, is enclosed in her letter.

I am now grown too old to be ambitious of such a station, as that which you say has been mentioned to you. Repose is more fit for me, and much more suitable to my wishes. There is no danger of such a thing being offered to me, and I am sure I shall never ask it. But even if it were offered, I certainly could not accept it, to act under such instructions, as

I know must be given with it. So you may be quite easy on that head.*

The account you write of the growing industry, frugality, and good sense of my countrywomen, gives

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* Dr. Franklin's enemies reported, that he was disposed to accept an office under the British government, at the same time that he was acting as an agent to sustain the rights of his country against the encroachments of that government. There never was a shadow of foundation for that report. The ministry, no doubt, would have been glad to win such a champion to their side. Indeed it appears from his letter to his son, dated July 2d, 1768, that there was some project of this sort in the minds of the ministers. It has been said, that at one time the office of under-secretary of state was held out as an allurement. If this be a fact, the sequel shows that he resisted the temptation. Indeed, all his writings of that period, and particularly many that are contained in the fourth volume of this edition, indicate opinions, a tone of feeling, and a course of conduct, as far removed as possible from any tendency to abet the acts or doctrines of the British government respecting the colonies. The contrary is everywhere and uniformly manifest; nor did his enemies ever attempt to offer any proof of the charge.

The office, which his sister had mentioned, and which he alludes to above, was probably that of governor of Pennsylvania. Some of the leaders of the popular party, who hoped to procure a change of government, looked to him as their favorite candidate for that office, in case a change should be brought about; but he well knew, that, with the political sentiments he entertained, and after the course he had taken in espousing the cause of the people, there was no chance of his receiving such an appointment from the King, and that his principles would not permit him to execute the instructions, which would necessarily be given to a governor acting under the crown. Whatever his friends may have wished, therefore, it is not likely that he ever entertained for a moment the idea of being selected, in any event, to fill that office. He was thought of, also, as a successor to Governor Bernard in Massachusetts. "Many of the principal people there," said a friend to him in a letter, "wish you to be the man, and say that you would meet with no opposition from any party, but would soon be able to conciliate all differences."

On another occasion (March 1st, 1766) he wrote to his sister; "As to the reports you mention, that are spread to my disadvantage, I give myself as little concern about them as possible. I have often met with such treatment from people, that I was all the while endeavouring to serve. At other times I have been extolled extravagantly, where I had little or no merit. These are the operations of nature. It some-

me more pleasure than you can imagine; for from thence I presage great advantages to our country. I should be sorry, that you are engaged in a business, which happens not to coincide with the general interest, if you did not acquaint me that you are now near the end of it.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.

Tuesday Morning, 27 June, 1769.

DEAR POLLY,

Agreeably to your orders, delivered to me very punctually by Temple, I return you enclosed Voltaire's verses. The translation I think full as good as the original. Remember that I am to have them again.

I take this opportunity to send you, also, a late paper, containing a melancholy account of the distresses of some seamen. You will observe in it the advantages they received from wearing their clothes constantly wet with salt water, under the total want of fresh water to drink. You may remember I recommended this practice many years ago. Do you know Dr. *Len*, and did you communicate it to him? I fancy his name is wrong spelt in this paper, and that it should be *Lind*, having seen in the Review some extracts from a book on sea-diseases, published within these two or three years, by one Dr. Lind; but

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times is cloudy, it rains, it hails; again it is clear and pleasant, and the sun shines on us. Take one thing with another, and the world is a pretty good sort of a world, and it is our duty to make the best of it, and be thankful. One's true happiness depends more upon one's own judgment of one's self, or a consciousness of rectitude in action and intention, and the approbation of those few, who judge impartially than upon the applause of the unthinking, undiscerning multitude, who are apt to cry *Hosanna* to-day, and to-morrow, *Crucify him.*"

I have not seen the book, and know not whether such a passage be in it.

I need not point out to you an observation in favor of our doctrine, that you will make on reading this paper, that, *having little to eat*, these poor people in wet clothes day and night *caught no cold*.

My respects to your aunt, and love to all that love you. Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF MERCHANTS IN PHILADELPHIA.

Recommends Perseverance in the Resolution not to import British Goods, till the Acts of Parliament imposing Duties in America shall be repealed.

London, 9 July, 1769.

GENTLEMEN,

I received yours of the 18th of April, enclosing copies of the articles of your agreements with respect to importation, and of your letter to the merchants here. The letter was published, and universally spoken well of, as a well written, sensible, manly, and spirited performance; and I believe the publication has been of service to our cause. You are in my opinion perfectly right in your supposition, that "the redress of American grievances likely to be proposed by the ministry will at first only be partial; and that it is intended to retain some of the revenue duties, in order to establish a right of Parliament to tax the colonies." But I hope, that, by persisting steadily in the measure you have so laudably entered into, you will, if backed by the general honest resolution of the people to buy British goods of no others, but to manufac-

ture for themselves, or use colony manufactures only, be the means, under God, of recovering and establishing the freedom of our country entire, and of handing it down complete to posterity.

And in the mean time the country will be enriched by its industry and frugality. These virtues will become habitual. Farms will be more improved, better stocked, and rendered more productive by the money that used to be spent in superfluities. Our artificers of every kind will be enabled to carry on their business to more advantage; gold and silver will become more plenty among us, and trade will revive, after things shall be well settled, and become better and safer than it has lately been; for an industrious, frugal people are best able to buy, and pay best for what they purchase. With great regard, I have the honor to be, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO JOHN BARTRAM.

Recommends to him to publish an Account of his Travels and Observations.

London, 9 July, 1769.

DEAR FRIEND,

It is with great pleasure I understand by your favor of April 10th, that you continue to enjoy so good a share of health. I hope it will long continue. And, although it may not now be suitable for you to make such wide excursions as heretofore, you may yet be very useful to your country and to mankind, if you sit down quietly at home, digest the knowledge you have acquired, and compile and publish the many observations you have made, and point out the advan-

tages that may be drawn from the whole, in public undertakings or particular private practice. It is true, many people are fond of accounts of old buildings, and monuments; but there is a number, who would be much better pleased with such accounts as you could afford them. And, for one, I confess, that if I could find in any Italian travels a receipt for making Parmesan cheese, it would give me more satisfaction than a transcript of any inscription from any old stone whatever.

I suppose Mr. Michael Collinson, or Dr. Fothergill, has written to you what may be necessary for your information relating to your affairs here. I imagine there is no doubt but the King's bounty to you will be continued; and that it will be proper for you to continue sending now and then a few such curious seeds, as you can procure, to keep up your claim. And now I mention seeds, I wish you would send me a few of such as are least common, to the value of a guinea, which Mr. Foxcroft will pay you for me. They are for a particular friend, who is very curious. If in any thing I can serve you here, command freely. Your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

London, 13 July, 1769.

DEAR SIR,

I am honored with yours of May 10th, and agree with you perfectly in your sentiments of public affairs. Government here seems now to be growing more moderate with regard to America, and I am persuaded, that, by a steady, prudent conduct, we shall finally obtain all our important points, and establish American

liberty on a clearer and firmer foundation. The folly of the late measures begins to be seen and understood at court; their promoters grow out of credit, and the trading part of the nation, with the manufacturers, are become sensible how necessary it is for their welfare to be on good terms with us. The petitioners of Middlesex and of London have numbered among their grievances the *unconstitutional* taxes on America, and similar petitions are expected from all quarters. So that I think we need only be quiet, and persevere in our schemes of frugality and industry, and the rest will do itself.

Your governor* is recalled, and it is said the commissioners† will follow soon, or be new modelled with *some more* men of discretion among them. I am just setting out on a journey of five or six weeks, and have now only time to add, that I am, with the greatest esteem and regard, dear Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

FROM SAMUEL COOPER TO B. FRANKLIN.

Non-importation Agreement adhered to. — Progress of Manufactures in Massachusetts.

Boston, 3 August, 1769.

DEAR SIR,

I am now to acknowledge the repeated favors of your letters, with the notes of Mr. Pownall's speech in Parliament, the arguments on the Dissenting cause, and the political pamphlet, in which you have given me no small entertainment. I could not forbear communicating what you wrote to some particular friends,

* Sir Francis Bernard, Governor of Massachusetts. He embarked at Boston on the 1st of August.

† Commissioners of the Customs in Boston.

to whom I knew it would give great pleasure, and to allow some extracts to be circulated among the merchants, which were of great service in confirming their present truly public spirit, though I did not think myself at liberty to give the sanction of your name.

I am persuaded, that the prudent and legal measure of non-importation would have had an earlier and greater effect, but for the hopes given to administration from this side of the water, that it would not be adhered to. These steps have hitherto been delusive; the agreement is still persisted in with great spirit; and the vague, indeterminate promise of a kind of repeal, which is generally regarded here as a design to divide us, and break this salutary measure, has, as you will see by the papers, only served to strengthen and support it. In the mean time, industry and manufactures are daily increasing among us; many, even in our trading towns, are fond of being clad in homespun, and, in the country, people are ambitious to fabricate for themselves what they formerly bought from the shops.

Britain is not sensible what she has already lost by the late impolitic and severe measures. Those, that take only a superficial view of things, imagine the country is safe, because they do not see large quantities of American manufactures stand for sale. They do not consider how greatly the demand for British goods is diminished, through the industry of families privately supplying themselves, from what this demand would have been from our increasing numbers, had mild and prudent methods been pursued. I can however give a striking instance, that may be depended on, of a manufacture, that was almost wholly imported, and now furnishes no inconsiderable article of our exportation. The single town of Lynn makes yearly

not less than eighty thousand pairs of women's shoes, better and cheaper than any that we can import, and not only supplies the maritime towns around it with this article, but sends large quantities of it to the southern colonies and the West Indies. I could not believe this, till, upon particular inquiry, I found it to be undoubtedly true.

What you predicted in your letter is already in part verified. The greater part of the military has lately been withdrawn from this town, and it is said the remainder will not tarry long among us. What ground there is for this, and whether any effectual measures will be taken to remove the ground of our uneasiness, and reduce things to their old channel, time will discover. I doubt, from what is past, whether there is yet wisdom and moderation enough in the British councils to produce an event so happy to both countries.

This letter will be delivered to you by Mr. William Gray, a young gentleman, who goes to London for the prosecution of medical studies. He is of a reputable family among us. His father was a worthy clergyman of this town; one of his uncles is of the first character among our merchants, and another the treasurer of the province; and the young gentleman himself has acquired a good reputation. I am told you design to return to America this year. Nothing could give greater pleasure to me and many friends, than to see you again in Boston. I am, my dear Sir, &c.

SAMUEL COOPER.

FROM MISS MARY STEVENSON TO B. FRANKLIN.

Welcomes him to England. — Smuggling. — Enthusiasm. — A young Physician.

Margate, 1 September, 1769.

Welcome to England! my dear, my honored friend. Just as I began a letter to my mother, I received the news of your arrival.* I have the same confidence in my parent, that the Esquimaux woman had in hers; for, if my mother did not know "I always speak truth," I could not venture to say what she might be apt to doubt. I confess she has some reason to complain of me; I *must* not complain of her; I have written to her but once since I came hither, and she ——. A blank will conclude that sentence. I have had the satisfaction to hear of her by several of my correspondents. I hope you will intercede for me, that I may not be severely rebuked. Indeed, my expedition has afforded me so little entertainment, that I could not have given her any by my letters, and I know she is not so well affected to the government, as to wish to increase the revenue without some advantage to herself. She is a very good subject, notwithstanding; and a faithful disciple of yours in all points, but that of tribute. There her daughter exceeds her; for, convinced by your arguments, I turn a deaf ear to all the invitations to smuggling, and in such a place as this, it is well to have one's honesty guarded.

As I have cast a censure upon the inhabitants of this place, I must, for the honor of my landlord and his family, tell you, that they condemn and avoid those illicit practices, which are too common here. Indeed

* Dr. Franklin had recently made a tour on the continent.

the exemplary conduct of these good people would make me join their sect, if reason would qualify me for it; but they are happily got into the flights of enthusiasm, which I cannot reach. They are certainly the happiest people, and I should be glad to be like them; but my reason will not suffer me, and my heart prevents my playing the hypocrite; so your Polly must remain as she is, neither in the world, nor out of it. How strangely I let my pen run on to a philosopher! But that philosopher is my friend, and I may write what I please to him.

I met with a very sensible physician yesterday, who prescribes abstinence for the cure of consumptions. He must be clever, because he thinks as *we* do. I would not have you or my mother surprised, if I should run off with this young man. To be sure it would be an imprudent step, at the discreet age of thirty; but there is no saying what one should do, if solicited by a man of an insinuating address and good person, though he may be too young for one, and not yet established in his profession. He engaged me so deeply in conversation, and I was so much pleased with him, that I thought it necessary to give you warning, though I assure you he has made no *proposal.**

How I rattle! This flight must be owing to this new acquaintance, or to the joy of hearing my old one is returned to this country. I know which I attribute it to, for I can tell when my spirits were enlivened; but you may think as you please, if you will believe me to be, dear Sir, your truly affectionate humble servant,

MARY STEVENSON.

* This same young physician was probably Mr. Hewson, to whom she was married the year following.

TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.

Saturday Evening, 2 September, 1769.

Just come home from a venison feast, where I have drunk more than a philosopher ought, I find my dear Polly's cheerful, chatty letter, that exhilirates me more than all the wine.

Your good mother says there is no occasion for any intercession of mine in your behalf. She is sensible that she is more in fault than her daughter. She received an affectionate, tender letter from you, and she has not answered it, though she intended to do it; but her head, not her heart, has been bad, and unfitted her for writing. She owns, that she is not so good a subject as you are, and that she is more unwilling to pay tribute to Cæsar, and has less objection to smuggling; but it is not, she says, mere selfishness or avarice; it is rather an honest resentment at the waste of those taxes in pensions, salaries, perquisites, contracts, and other emoluments for the benefit of people she does not love, and who do not deserve such advantages, because — I suppose — because they are not of her party.

Present my respects to your good landlord and his family. I honor them for their conscientious aversion to illicit trading. There are those in the world, who would not wrong a neighbour, but make no scruple of cheating the King. The reverse, however, does not hold; for whoever scruples cheating the King, will certainly not wrong his neighbour.

You ought not to wish yourself an enthusiast. They have, indeed, their imaginary satisfactions and pleasures, but these are often balanced by imaginary

pains and mortification. You can continue to be a good girl, and thereby lay a solid foundation for expected future happiness, without the enthusiasm that may perhaps be necessary to some others. As those beings, who have a good sensible instinct, have no need of reason, so those, who have reason to regulate their actions, have no occasion for enthusiasm. However, there are certain circumstances in life, sometimes, where it is perhaps best not to hearken to reason. For instance; possibly, if the truth were known, I have reason to be jealous of this same insinuating, handsome young physician; but, as it flatters more my vanity, and therefore gives me more pleasure, to suppose you were in spirits on account of my safe return, I shall turn a deaf ear to reason in this case, as I have done with success in twenty others. But I am sure you will always give me reason enough to continue ever your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. Our love to Mrs. Tickell. We shall long for your return. Your Dolly was well last Tuesday; the girls were there on a visit to her; I mean at Bromley. Adieu. No time now to give you any account of my French journey.

TO CADWALLADER EVANS.

Transit of Venus. — Manufacture of Silk in America.

London, 7 September, 1769.

DEAR SIR,

I have now before me your favors of June 11th and July 15th. I thank you for communicating to me

the observations of the transit made by Messrs. Biddle and Bayley. I gave them immediately to Mr. Maskelyne, the Astronomer Royal, who will compare and digest the whole received from different parts of the world, and report thereon to the Royal Society. They are the only ones I have received from our Society; those made by the others were sent to Mr. Penn. Being last week with Mr. Maskelyne, at Flamsteed House, I found he had got them. I shall send him to-day the corrected account, which I have since received from you by way of Liverpool.

I should be very sorry that any thing of party remained in the American Philosophical Society after the union. Here the Royal Society is of all parties, but party is entirely out of the question in all our proceedings.*

It grieves me to hear that our friend Galloway is in so bad a state of health. He should make a long journey, or take a sea voyage. I wish he would come to London for the winter.

Mr. Henry's *Register*, which you communicated to me last year, is thought a very ingenious one, and will be published here, though it has long been delayed. I have not seen Mrs. Dowell. I suppose she is not yet come to town. At least I have not heard of her being here, though possibly she might while I was in France.

Our friend W——, who is always complaining of a constant fever, looks nevertheless fresh and jolly,

* The American Philosophical Society, of which Franklin was soon after chosen the president, had recently been formed by the union of two other societies. It appears by Dr. Evans's letter, to which the above is an answer, that some disagreeable altercations had taken place between the members of the two societies in effecting the union.

[illegible] fall away in the least. He was saying the other day at Richmond, where we were together dining with Governor Pownall, that he had been pestered with a fever almost continually for these three years past, and that I gave way to no medicines, all he had taken, advised by different physicians, having never any effect towards removing it. On which I asked him, if it was not now time to inquire, whether he had really any fever at all. He is indeed the only instance I ever knew, of a man's growing fat upon a fever. But I see no occasion for reading him the lecture you desired, for he appears to me extremely temperate in his eating and drinking. His affairs here are I think in a good train, but every thing to be transacted in our great offices requires time. I suppose he will hardly be able to return before the spring.

By a ship just sailed from hence, (the captain a stranger, whose name I have forgotten,) I send you a late French treatise on the management of silkworms. It is said to be the best hitherto published, being written in the silk country by a gentleman well acquainted with the whole affair. It seems to me to be, like many other French writings, rather too much drawn out in words; but some extracts from it, of the principal directions, might be of use, if you would translate and publish them. I think the bounty is offered for silk from all the colonies in general. I will send you the act. But I believe it must be wound from the cocoons, and sent over in skeins. The cocoons would spoil on the passage, by the dead worm corrupting and staining the silk. A public filature should be set up for winding them there; or every family should learn to wind their own. In Italy they are all brought to market, from the neighbouring country, and bought

up by those that keep the filatures. In Sicily each family winds its own silk, for the sake of having the remains to card and spin for family use. If some provision were made by the Assembly for promoting the growth of mulberry trees in all parts of the province, the culture of silk might afterwards follow easily. For the great discouragement to breeding worms at first is the difficulty of getting leaves and the being obliged to go far for them.

There is no doubt with me but that it might succeed in our country. It is the happiest of all inventions for clothing. Wool uses a good deal of land to produce it, which, if employed in raising corn, would afford much more subsistence for man, than the mutton amounts to. Flax and hemp require good land, impoverish it, and at the same time permit it to produce no food at all. But mulberry trees may be planted in hedgerows on walks or avenues, or for shade near a house, where nothing else is wanted to grow. The food for the worms, which produce the silk, is in the air, and the ground under the trees may still produce grass, or some other vegetable good for man or beast. Then the wear of silken garments continues so much longer, from the strength of the materials, as to give it greatly the preference. Hence it is that the most populous of all countries, China, clothes its inhabitants with silk, while it feeds them plentifully, and has besides a vast quantity both raw and manufactured to spare for exportation. Raw silk here, in skeins well wound, sells from twenty to twenty-five shillings per pound; but, if badly wound, is not worth five shillings. Well wound is, when the threads are made to cross each other every way in the skein, and only touch where they cross. Badly wound is, when they are laid par-

allel to each other; for so they are glued together, break in unwinding them, and take a vast deal of time more than the other, by losing the end every time the thread breaks. When once you can raise plenty of silk, you may have manufactures enough from hence. With great esteem, I am, my dear friend, yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.*

TO SAMUEL COOPER.

London, 30 September, 1769.

DEAR SIR,

Your favor of August 2d has given me great pleasure. I have only time now to acknowledge the receipt of it, but purpose to write fully by the next opportunity. I am just returned from France, where I found our dispute much attended to, several of our pamphlets being translated and printed there, among the rest my *Examination* † and the *Farmer's Letters*,‡ with two of my pieces annexed, of which last I send

* Some of the author's friends in Philadelphia, engaged in raising silk, sent over a sample of their manufacture, as a present to the Queen, which is alluded to in the following note.

"Dr. Franklin presents his respectful compliments to Sir John Pringle, and is much obliged to him for the trouble he has so kindly taken in the affair of the silk, and is very happy to learn that the Queen has graciously condescended to accept it with the purpose of wearing it. Her Majesty's countenance so afforded to the raisers of silk in Pennsylvania, where her character is highly revered, will give them great encouragement to proceed in a measure, which the British Parliament seems to have had much at heart, the procuring a supply of that valuable article from our colonies, for which at present large sums are paid to France, Spain, Italy, and the Indies."

† Examination before the British House of Commons. See Vol. IV. p. 161.

‡ Written by John Dickinson, and recently published in London with a Preface by Dr. Franklin. See Vol. IV. p. 256.

you a copy. In short, all Europe (except Britain) appears to be on our side of the question. But Europe has its reasons. It fancies itself in some danger from the growth of British power, and would be glad to see it divided against itself. Our prudence will, I hope, long postpone the satisfaction our enemies expect from our dissensions. With sincere and great esteem, I am, dear Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

FROM A COMMITTEE OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON TO B. FRANKLIN.

Transmitting a Correspondence with Bernard, Gage, and Hood.

Boston, 23 October, 1769.

SIR,

It is with the greatest pleasure we obey the orders of the town of Boston, in transmitting to you their remarks upon the letters from Governor Bernard, the Commissioners of his Majesty's Customs, General Gage, and Commodore Hood; copies of which the town have been furnished with by Mr. Bollan.

The town of Boston are fully sensible of your extensive influence, and, from your past conduct, have the strongest reason to assure themselves, that you will exert your great abilities in promoting the united interests of Great Britain and her colonies.

The happiness of British subjects is founded on the freedom of the constitution; and, in behalf of the town of Boston, we beg you would always, and particularly at this time, defend this injured town against the injurious calumnies of those, who wish the total abolition

of liberty, both in Great Britain and America. We are, with strict truth, Sir, &c.

THOMAS CUSHING,
SAMUEL ADAMS,
JOHN ADAMS,
JAMES OTIS,
JOSEPH WARREN,
RICHARD DANA,
JOSHUA HENSHAW,
JOSEPH JACKSON,
BENJAMIN KENT,
Committee of the town of Boston.

FROM A COMMITTEE OF NEW JERSEY TO B. FRANKLIN.

Communicating his Appointment as Agent for New Jersey, and Instructions.

Burlington, 7 December, 1769

SIR,

The House of Representatives of this colony, on the 8th ultimo, unanimously chose you their agent in London, and appointed us to correspond with you on the affairs of the colony. The resolve of the House, by which you are appointed agent, his Excellency will transmit to you properly attested.

To a gentleman, whose inclination to serve these colonies we believe equal to his knowledge of their true interests, much need not be said to induce an attention to American concerns, in the ensuing session of Parliament; and the confidence the House have in the assurances of his Majesty's ministers, that they will use their endeavours for the repeal of the revenue acts, and that those endeavours will be successful, renders any particular direction to you on this head un-

necessary. But we could wish his Majesty's faithful American subjects to stand in their true point of light before him, that no doubt may remain of their loyalty and firm attachment to his royal person and government.

We are directed by the House to desire you will apply to the proper offices, and solicit his Majesty's assent to the bill for a septennial election of representatives, and the bill giving the counties of Morris, Cumberland, and Sussex, a right to choose representatives in the Assembly, transmitted in 1768. The province is very solicitous for a confirmation of these laws, and we must desire you will use your influence to obtain the royal assent to them as soon as possible. Another bill in 1765 was transmitted for amending the practice of the law, which the House would rather choose should not have the royal assent, as a bill they like better has been passed by the House this session, which, although the governor could not pass it, yet he has, upon a message from the House, promised to ask his Majesty's permission to give his assent to at a future session.

His Excellency, our governor, will transmit, for his Majesty's royal approbation, an act of Assembly, passed this session, for making current one hundred thousand pounds in bills of credit, to be let on loan at five per cent. The particular distress of this province for want of a currency, and the little prospect of being able to obtain a bill very soon to make the bills a legal tender, was what induced the Assembly to comply with this method; and, as the funds for the redemption of the bills are good beyond a doubt, we are under no apprehension of any difficulty, as to the bills obtaining a credit and passing in lieu of money We refer to the preamble to the bill, and to your own knowledge

of the propriety of the measure; and it gives us particular pleasure to intrust to your care a matter so generally desired by the people of this colony, because you so well understand the subject, and can so readily answer any objections that may be made against it.

The House have ordered a sum of money to pay the expense, that may attend the getting of the royal assent to these bills; and we enclose a bill of exchange for two hundred pounds sterling for that purpose.

The House have also passed a bill for lending a sum of money to the general Proprietary of the eastern division of this province, and have by a message to the governor informed him, that they would direct their agent by a memorial to support the claim of this colony, before his Majesty in Council. You will, from the agents appointed by law to manage the controversy between the colonies, receive a state of the controversy, and every paper necessary for you to inspect before drawing your memorial. The House have therefore directed us to inform you, that the principal motives of the House for your application to his Majesty are,

1. That justice may be done to individuals, as well as to the colony in general; and, although the House does not pretend to direct where the said line ought to be fixed, yet, as the settlement of said line will in its consequences affect the colony very sensibly, especially should any station be fixed southward of the line solemnly settled in the year 1719, in consequence of which great numbers of people settled up to said line, and have ever since done duty and paid their taxes in this government, should that line be altered and brought southward, many honest and *bonâ fide* purchasers will be involved in ruin, unless his Majesty should think proper to interpose.

2. The injustice to this colony will appear very great, when it is considered that the line of 1719 has constantly been deemed the line of division between the governments, and the settlers and lands up to that line have ever been estimated in the taxes; hence, should the line be removed southward, this colony, that has incurred a debt of one hundred and ninety thousand pounds in the late war, yet undischarged, will be deprived of the aid of valuable settlements in paying off this debt, and the burden will be increased on the remainder of the colony.

From this sketch of the sentiments of the House, and the papers that will be laid before you by the agents appointed by law to manage the controversy between the colonies, you will be able to frame a memorial to his Majesty; but, as no appeal is yet made, and only threatened, no application from you to his Majesty will be necessary until such appeal is actually made by the agents for New York. We are, Sir, with great sincerity and respect, &c.*

CORTLAND SKINNER,
AARON LEAMING,
ABRAHAM HEWLINGS,
HENRY PAXSON,
EBENEZER MILLER,
JOSEPH SMITH.

* This agency was continued during Dr. Franklin's residence in England. The salary allowed was one hundred pounds sterling a year.

TO JOHN BARTRAM.

Rhubarb Seed. — Chinese Cheese.

London, 11 January, 1770.

MY EVER DEAR FRIEND,

I received your kind letter of November 29th, with the parcel of seeds, for which I am greatly obliged to you. I cannot make you adequate returns in kind; but I send you however some of the true rhubarb seed, which you desire. I had it from Mr. English, who lately received a medal of the Society of Arts for propagating it. I send also some green dry peas, highly esteemed here as the best for making pea soup; and also some Chinese *caravances*, with Father Navarette's account of the universal use of a cheese made of them in China, which so excited my curiosity, that I caused inquiry to be made of Mr. Flint, who lived many years there, in what manner the cheese was made, and I send you his answer. I have since learned, that some runnings of salt (I suppose runnet) is put into water, when the meal is in it, to turn it to curds. I think we have *caravances* with us, but I know not whether they are the same with these, which actually came from China. They are said to be of great increase.

I shall inquire of Mr. Collinson for your *Journal*. I see that of East Florida is printed with Stork's *Account*. My love to good Mrs. Bartram and your children. With esteem I am ever, my dear friend, yours affectionately, B. FRANKLIN.

TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.

Craven Street, 22 January, 1773

DEAR POLLY,

I received your favor of Saturday, early this morning, and am, as usual, much obliged by the kind readiness with which you have done what I requested.

Your good mother has complained more of her head since you left us than ever before. If she stoops, or looks, or bends her neck downwards, on any occasion, it is with great pain and difficulty, that she gets her head up again. She has, therefore, borrowed a breast and neck collar of Mrs. Wilkes, such as misses wear, and now uses it to keep her head up. Mr. Strahan has invited us all to dine there to-morrow, but she has excused herself. Will you come, and go with me? If you cannot well do that, you will at least be with us on Friday.

As to my own head, which you so kindly inquire after, its swimming has gradually worn off, and to-day for the first time I felt nothing of it on getting out of bed. But, as this speedy recovery is, as I am fully persuaded, owing to the extreme abstemiousness I have observed for some days past at home, I am not without apprehensions, that, being to dine abroad this day, to-morrow, and next day, I may inadvertently bring it on again, if I do not think of my little monitor and guardian angel, and make use of the proper and very pertinent clause she proposes, in my grace. Here comes a morning visiter. Adieu. My best respects to Mrs. Tickell. I am, my dear friend, yours affectionately, B. FRANKLIN.

TO A FRIEND IN AMERICA.

Opinions of the principal Persons in England respecting America. — Merchants and Manufacturers.

London, 18 March, 1770

DEAR SIR,

Your very judicious letter of November 26th, being communicated by me to some member of Parliament, was handed about among them, so that it was some time before I got it again into my hands. It had due weight with several, and was of considerable use. You will see that I printed it at length in the London *Chronicle*, with the merchants' letter. When the American affairs came to be debated in the House of Commons, the majority, notwithstanding all the weight of ministerial influence, was only sixty-two for continuing the whole last act; and would not have been so large, nay, I think the repeal would have been carried, but that the ministry were persuaded by Governor Bernard, and some lying letters said to be from Boston, that the associations not to import were all breaking to pieces, that America was in the greatest distress for want of the goods, that we could not possibly subsist any longer without them, and must of course submit to any terms Parliament should think fit to impose upon us. This, with the idle notion of the dignity and sovereignty of Parliament, which they are so fond of, and imagine will be endangered by any further concessions, prevailed, I know, with many, to vote with the ministry, who, otherwise, on account of the commerce, wish to see the difference accommodated.*

* The following extract is from a letter written by Mr. Johnson, agent from Connecticut, to Governor Trumbull, dated London, March 6th, 1770.

"At length the American revenue act has been debated in the

But, though both the Duke of Grafton and Lord North were and are, in my opinion, rather inclined to satisfy us, yet the Bedford party are so violent against us, and so prevalent in the council, that more moderate measures could not take place. This party never speak of us but with evident malice; "rebels" and "traitors" are the best names they can afford us, and I believe they only wish for a colorable pretence and occasion of ordering the soldiers to make a massacre among us.

On the other hand, the Rockingham and Shelburne people, with Lord Chatham's friends, are disposed to favor us if they were again in power, which at present

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House of Commons. Lord North moved, yesterday, for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the duty upon the three articles only, which he grounded upon the promise made by the administration in their circular letter to propose it to Parliament, and upon the anti-commercial nature of these duties. The conduct of America, he said, had been such as, in his opinion, to prevent their going farther, by their refusing to be content with this, by their entering into and continuing their combinations against the trade of this country, which he called insolent, unwarrantable, and illegal, and such as Parliament must not yield to, nor could, without giving up all authority over the colonies. He insisted, that the preamble to the act, and the duty on tea, must be retained, as a mark of the supremacy of Parliament, and an efficient declaration of their right to govern the colonies. He said it was also an *operative duty*, and fairly within our old distinction between internal and external taxes, the latter of which we had admitted they might impose. This was a port duty, not an internal tax.

"Our new distinction between taxes for raising a revenue, and duties for regulation of trade, he said, was too vague to be a line of conduct, and would never answer any practical purpose; that, whatever duties were imposed, they might call them regulations of trade, while we should insist they were for the purpose of revenue, and the consequence would be, they could impose none to which America would agree. He expatiated upon the infractions of the agreements by the people of Boston, and various other circumstances there, (of which he appeared to have the most minute and circumstantial intelligence,) as tending to evince, that those agreements would soon come to nothing; upon the impossibility of our manufacturing, for the supply of any considerable part of our necessities, and their ability to check us, if it should

they are not like to be; though they, too, would be for keeping up the claim of Parliamentary sovereignty, but without exercising it in any mode of taxation. Besides these, we have for sincere friends and well-wishers the body of Dissenters generally throughout England, with many others, not to mention Ireland and all the rest of Europe, who, from various motives, join in applauding the spirit of liberty, with which we have claimed and insisted on our privileges, and wish us success, but whose suffrage cannot have much weight in our affairs.

The merchants here were at length prevailed on to present a petition, but they moved slowly, and some of them, I thought, reluctantly; perhaps from a despair

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ever become necessary; and concluded, that our necessities and want of union would open the trade, and, with the attention of government, secure the dependence of the colonies. He admitted that New York and Pennsylvania had kept strictly to their agreements, but imagined they would soon give way, as they found them disregarded by others."

In the same letter Mr. Johnson adds, that Lord Chatham had said in debate three nights before; "I have been thought to be, perhaps, too much the friend of America. I own I am a friend to that country. I love the Americans because they love liberty, and I love them for the noble efforts they made in the last war. But I must own I find fault with them in many things; I think they carry matters too far; they have been wrong in many respects. I think the idea of drawing money from them by taxes was ill judged. Trade is your object with them, and they should be encouraged. But, (I wish every sensible American, both here and in that country, heard what I say,) if they carry their notions of liberty too far, as I fear they do, if they will not be subject to the laws of this country, especially, if they would disengage themselves from the laws of trade and navigation, of which I see too many symptoms, as much of an American as I am, they have not a more determined opposer than they will find in me. They must be subordinate. In all laws relating to trade and navigation especially, this is the mother country, they are the children; they must obey, and we prescribe. It is necessary; for in these cases between two countries so circumstanced as these two are, there must be something more than connexion, there must be subordination, there must be obedience, there must be dependence. And, if you do not make laws for them, let me tell you, my Lords, they do, they will, they must make laws for you."

of success, the city not being much in favor with the court at present. The manufacturing towns absolutely refused to move at all; some pretending to be offended with our attempting to manufacture for ourselves; others saying, that they had employment enough, and that our trade was of little importance to them, whether we continued or refused it. Those, who began a little to feel the effects of our forbearing to purchase, were persuaded to be quiet by the ministerial people, who gave out, that certain advices were received of our beginning to break our agreements; of our attempts to manufacture proving all abortive and ruining the undertakers; of our distress for want of goods, and dissensions among ourselves, which promised the total defeat of all such kind of combinations, and the prevention of them for the future, if the government were not urged imprudently to repeal the duties. But now that it appears from late and authentic accounts, that agreements continue in full force, that a ship is actually returned from Boston to Bristol with nails and glass (articles that were thought of the utmost necessity), and that the ships, which were waiting here for the determination of Parliament, are actually returning to North America in their ballast, the tone of the manufacturers begins to change, and there is no doubt, that, if we are steady, and persevere in our resolutions, these people will soon begin a clamor, that much pains has hitherto been used to stifle.

In short, it appears to me, that if we do not now persist in this measure till it has had its full effect, it can never again be used on any future occasion with the least prospect of success, and that, if we do persist another year, we shall never afterwards have occasion to use it. With sincere regards, I am, dear Sir, your obedient servant, B. FRANKLIN.

TO SAMUEL COOPER.

Interest taken in Europe in the Affairs of the American Colonies. — Principal Papers relating to them translated in France. — Molyneux's "Case of Ireland."

London, 14 April, 1770.

DEAR SIR,

I suppose Governor Pownall acquaints you with what has passed this session relating to our American affairs. All Europe is attentive to the dispute between Britain and the colonies; and I own I have a satisfaction in seeing, that our part is taken everywhere, because I am persuaded, that that circumstance will not be without its effect here in our favor. At the same time the malignant pleasure, which other powers take in British divisions, may convince us on both sides of the necessity of our uniting.

In France they have translated and printed the principal pieces, that have been written on the American side of the question; and, as French is the political language of Europe, it has communicated an acquaintance with our affairs very extensively. M. Beaumont, a famous advocate of Paris, the defender of the family of Calas, wrote the *Reflexions d'un Etranger désintéressé*, which I send you. The manuscript is an original letter from a gentleman, (of note, I am told,) as far off as the Austrian Silesia, who, being concerned for us, wrote it to the Parliament, directing it to the late Speaker. The Speaker read only the first side, was offended at the freedom, and impertinence, as he called it, and returned the letter to the office, refusing to pay the postage. Accept it as a curiosity. I send you also a late edition of Molyneux's *Case of Ireland*, with a new preface, shrewdly written. Our

part is warmly taken by the Irish in general, there being in many points a similarity in our cases. My respects to Mr. Bowdoin, and believe me ever, dear Sir, yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MISS MARY STEVENSON.

Advice concerning a Proposal of Marriage.

Tuesday, 31 May, 1770.

DEAR POLLY,

I received your letter early this morning; and, as I am so engaged, that I cannot see you when you come to-day, I write this line just to say, that I am sure you are a much better judge in this affair of your own, than I can possibly be.* In that confidence it was, that I forebore giving my advice when you mentioned it to me, and not from any disapprobation. My concern (equal to any father's) for your happiness makes me write this, lest, having more regard for my opinion than you ought, and imagining it against the proposal because I did not immediately advise accepting it, you should let that weigh any thing in your deliberations.

I assure you, that no objection has occurred to me. His person you see; his temper and understanding you can judge of; his character, for any thing I have ever heard, is unblemished; his profession, with the skill in it he is supposed to have, will be sufficient to support a family; and, therefore, considering the fortune you have in your hands (though any future ex-

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* Alluding to a proposal from Mr. Hewson, a physician of London to whom Miss Stevenson was soon afterwards married.

pectation from your parent should be disappointed), I do not see but that the agreement may be a rational one on both sides.

I see your delicacy, and your humility too; for you fancy that if you do not prove a great fortune, you will not be loved; but I am sure, were I in his situation in every respect, knowing you so well as I do, and esteeming you so highly, I should think you a fortune sufficient for me without a shilling.

Having thus, more explicitly than before, given my opinion, I leave the rest to your sound judgment, of which no one has a greater share; and I shall not be too inquisitive after your particular reasons, your doubts, your fears, and the like. For I shall be confident, whether you accept or refuse, that you do right. I only wish you may do what will most contribute to your happiness, and of course to mine; being ever, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. Do not be angry with me for supposing your determination not quite so fixed as you fancy it.*

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* The author seems not to have had great confidence in the efficacy of advice. To a person, who once wrote to him on this head respecting a young man under his charge, he replied;

"As to my reproving and advising him, which you desire, he has not hitherto appeared to need it, which is lucky, as I am not fond of giving advice, having seldom seen it taken. An Italian poet, in his account of a voyage to the Moon, tells us, that

'All things lost on earth are treasured there.'

On which somebody observed, there must then be in the Moon a great deal of *good advice*."

TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS.

London, 6 June, 1770.

DEAR COUSIN,

Your favor of January 8th came duly to hand, but I have been so much engaged during the sitting of Parliament, that I could not correspond regularly with all my friends, and have of course trespassed most with those on whose good nature and indulgence I could most rely. I am, however, ashamed of being so long silent. It was but the other day, that I inquired after the fate of your tickets, when I received the enclosed answer, whereby you will see that the whole cost has not been lost. I only wished to see three ciphers more following the sum. I have not any further orders from you, but think to take at a venture two tickets more on your account. If you disapprove and choose to rest where you are, signify it by a line, before the drawing, directed to Messrs. Smith, Wright, and Grey, who may then dispose of the tickets.

I am glad to hear the old gentleman, your father, is still alive and happy. Please to remember me to him respectfully. Probably he can recollect but little of me, as it is a good deal more than half a century since ne has seen me; but I remember him well, a lively, active, handsome young man, with a fine full flowing head of hair. I suppose he must now be near fourscore.

If I could have given you any intimation of the intentions of government with regard to America, that might be depended upon, you should have had them in good time for use, in the views of trade you hint at. But there have been this winter such changes of men and of minds, and such continual expectations of more and other changes, that nothing was certain;

and I believe that to this day the ministry are not all of a mind, nor determined what are the next steps proper to be taken with us. Some are said to be for severe, others for lenient measures; others for leaving things as they now are, in confidence that we shall soon be tired of our non-importation agreements, manufacturing schemes, and self-denying frugalities, submit to the duties, and return by degrees to our dear luxuries and idleness, with our old course of commercial extravagance, folly, and good humor. Which of these opinions will prevail and be acted on, it is impossible yet to say. I only know, that generally the dispute is thought a dangerous one, and that many wish to see it well compromised in time, lest by a continuance of mutual provocations the breach should become past healing.

I am much obliged to you and cousin Hubbard for your kindness to my friend Hughes, of which he informed me, with many expressions of gratitude for your civilities. He would have been very happy in that station, and in your acquaintance so nigh him; but he is now removed to Carolina.

My love to your good wife and children, and believe me ever your affectionate uncle,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO SAMUEL COOPER.*

Lord North in Favor of repealing the Act taxing the Colonies. — Standing Army. — Encroachments of Parliament on the Rights of the Colonies. — Scotland before the Union. — The King.

London, 8 June, 1770.

DEAR SIR,

I received duly your favor of March 28th. With this I send you two speeches in Parliament on our affairs by a member that you know. The repeal of the whole late act would undoubtedly have been a prudent measure, and I have reason to believe that Lord North was for it, but some of the other ministers could not be brought to agree to it; so the duty on tea, with that obnoxious preamble, remains to continue the dispute. But I think the next session will hardly pass over without repealing them; for the Parliament must finally comply with the sense of the nation.

As to the standing army kept up among us in time of peace, without the consent of our Assemblies, I am clearly of opinion that it is not agreeable to the constitution. Should the King, by the aid of his Parlia-

* This letter is one of those, which was sent to the King, as heretofore mentioned, (p. 440.) It was seen by Governor Hutchinson before he wrote the third volume of his History, in which are contained extracts from it with comments. Whether a copy was surreptitiously obtained from Dr. Cooper, while Governor Hutchinson was in Boston, or whether it was afterwards shown to him by the King, is not known. Speaking of Dr. Franklin's appointment as agent for Massachusetts, Hutchinson says; "He had corresponded with the principal conductors of the controversy with Parliament in Boston, from the first stir about the Stamp Act; and they professed, in all the important parts of it, to govern themselves by his advice" — *History of Massachusetts* Vol. III. p. 316. See also Vol. III. p. 67.

ments in Ireland and the colonies, raise an army, and bring it into England, quartering it here in time of peace without the consent of the Parliament of Great Britain, I am persuaded he would soon be told, that he had no right so to do, and the nation would ring with clamors against it. I own, that I see no difference in the cases; and, while we continue so many distinct and separate states, our having the same head, or sovereign, the King, will not justify such an invasion of the separate right of each state to be consulted on the establishment of whatever force is proposed to be kept up within its limits, and to give or refuse its consent, as shall appear most for the public good of that state.

That the colonies originally were constituted distinct states, and intended to be continued such, is clear to me from a thorough consideration of their original charters, and the whole conduct of the crown and nation towards them until the restoration. Since that period, the Parliament here has usurped an authority of making laws for them, which before it had not. We have for some time submitted to that usurpation, partly through ignorance and inattention, and partly from our weakness and inability to contend. I hope, when our rights are better understood here, we shall, by prudent and proper conduct, be able to obtain from the equity of this nation a restoration of them. And, in the mean time, I could wish, that such expressions as *the Supreme authority of Parliament, the subordinacy of our Assemblies to the Parliament,* and the like, which in reality mean nothing, if our Assemblies, with the King, have a true legislative authority; I say, I could wish that such expressions were no more seen in our public pieces. They are too strong for compliment, and tend to confirm a claim

of subjects in one part of the King's dominions to be sovereigns over their fellow subjects in another part of his dominions, when in truth they have no such right, and their claim is founded only in usurpation, the several states having equal rights and liberties, and being only connected, as England and Scotland were before the union, by having one common sovereign, the King.

This kind of doctrine the Lords and Commons here would deem little less than treason against what they think their share of the sovereignty over the colonies. To me those bodies seem to have been long encroaching on the rights of their and our sovereign, assuming too much of his authority, and betraying his interests. By our constitutions he is, with his plantation Parliaments, the sole legislator of his American subjects, and in that capacity is, and ought to be, free to exercise his own judgment, unrestrained and unlimited by his Parliament here. And our Parliaments have a right to grant him aids without the consent of this Parliament, a circumstance, which, by the way, begins to give it some jealousy. Let us, therefore, hold fast our loyalty to our King, who has the best disposition towards us, and has a family interest in our prosperity; as that steady loyalty is the most probable means of securing us from the arbitrary power of a corrupt Parliament, that does not like us, and conceives itself to have an interest in keeping us down and fleecing us.

If they should urge the *inconvenience* of an empire's being divided into so many separate states, and from thence conclude, that we are not so divided, I would answer, that an inconvenience proves nothing but itself. England and Scotland were once separate states, under the same King. The inconvenience found in their being separate states did not prove, that the

Parliament of England had a right to govern Scotland. A formal union was thought necessary, and England was a hundred years soliciting it, before she could bring it about. If Great Britain now thinks such a union necessary with us, let her propose her terms, and we may consider them. Were the general sentiments of this nation to be consulted in the case, I should hope the terms, whether practicable or not, would at least be equitable; for I think, that, except among those with whom the spirit of Toryism prevails, the popular inclination here is, to wish us well, and that we may preserve our liberties.

I unbosom myself thus to you, in confidence of your prudence, and wishing to have your sentiments on the subject in return.

Mr. Pownall, I suppose, will acquaint you with the event of his motions, and therefore I say nothing more of them, than that he appears very sincere in his endeavours to serve us; on which account, I some time since republished with pleasure the parting addresses to him of your Assembly, with some previous remarks to his honor, as well as in justification of our people.

I hope, that before this time those detestable murderers have quitted your province, and that the spirit of industry and frugality continues and increases. With sincerest esteem and affection, I am, dear Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. Just before the last session of Parliament commenced, a friend of mine, who had connexion with some of the ministry, wrote me a letter purposely to draw from me my sentiments in writing on the then state of affairs. I wrote a pretty free answer, which I know was immediately communicated, and a good

deal handed about among them. For your private amusement I send you copies. I wish you may be able to read them, as they are very badly written by a very blundering clerk.*

TO SAMUEL FRANKLIN.

London, 8 June, 1770.

LOVING COUSIN,

I received your kind letter of the 23d of March. I was happy to find that neither you, nor any of your family, were in the way of those murderers.† I hope that before this time the town is quite freed from such dangerous and mischievous inmates.

I rejoice to hear that you and your good wife and children continue in health. My love to them. I still enjoy a considerable share of that blessing, thanks to God, and hope once more to see Boston and my friends there before I die. I left it first in 1723. I made a visit there in 1733; another in 1743; another in 1753; another in 1763. Perhaps if I live to 1773, I may then call again and take my leave.

Our relation, Sally Franklin, is still with me here, is a very good girl, and grown up almost a woman. She sends her love to you and yours. I am, with sincere regard, your affectionate cousin,

B. FRANKLIN.

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* These papers were Mr. Strahan's *Queries* respecting American affairs, and Dr. Franklin's answers to them. See Vol. IV. p. 258.

† Alluding to the tragical scene in the streets of Boston on the 5th of March commonly called the *Massacre*, when Captain Preston's troops fired upon the inhabitants, and killed three persons.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

London, 10 June, 1770.

My dear Child,

I think you are the most punctual of all my correspondents; and it is often a particular satisfaction to me to hear from you, when I have no letter from any one else. By Captain Falconer I answered Sally's letter about her son's being inoculated, and told her Sir John Pringle's opinion, as to the probability of his not having the smallpox hereafter. I think he advised, as no eruption appeared, to make sure of the thing by inoculating him again. I rejoice much in the pleasure you appear to take in him. It must be of use to your health, the having such an amusement. My love to him, and to his father and mother.

Captain Ourry is gone abroad as a travelling tutor to Lord Galway's son; Mrs. Strahan is at Bath; Mr. Strahan and children, Mr. and Mrs. West and their son, are all well at present; though Mr. West himself has had a long illness. They always inquire after you, and I present your compliments. Poor Nanny was drawn in to marry a worthless fellow, who got all her money, and then ran away and left her. So she is returned to her old service with Mrs. Stevenson, poorer than ever, but seems pretty patient, only looks dejected, sighs sometimes, and wishes she had never left Philadelphia. Mr. Montgomery died at sea, as we have lately heard.

As to myself, I had, from Christmas till Easter, a disagreeable giddiness hanging about me, which however did not hinder me from being about and doing business. In the Easter holidays, being at a friend's house in the country, I was taken with a sore throat, and came home half strangled. From Monday till

Friday, I could swallow nothing but barley water and the like. On Friday came on a fit of the gout, from which I had been free five years. Immediately the inflammation and swelling in my throat disappeared; my foot swelled greatly, and I was confined about three weeks; since which I am perfectly well, the giddiness and every other disagreeable symptom having quite left me. I hope your health is likewise by this time quite reëstablished; being as ever, my dear child, your affectionate husband,

B. Franklin.

FROM JOSEPH GALLOWAY TO B. FRANKLIN.

American Paper Money. — Mr. Jackson.

Philadelphia, 21 June, 1770.

Dear Friend,

A number of new engagements, occasioned by the death of Mr. Growdon, which detained me in the country for the most part of several months, prevented my acknowledging the receipt of your favors of January 11th, March 21st, and April 10th. I am much obliged to you for the state of American affairs on your side of the water, contained in yours of March 21st. The ministry are much mistaken in imagining, that there ever will be a union, either of affections or interest, between Great Britain and America, until justice is done to the latter, and there is a full restoration of its liberties. The people here are resolved to adhere to their former non-importation agreement. The people of Boston and Maryland are of the same opinion, until the duty on tea is taken off. The Yorkers and Rhode Islanders seem to be divided among

themselves, but I think they will soon concur to support the cause of liberty.

I am greatly surprised at the conduct of the administration, in relation to the New York and New Jersey paper money bills. The reasons assigned for their rejection are really ridiculous, and can be accounted for on no other ground, than that they are determined the Americans shall not have any paper medium at all. Is not every promiser in a promissory note obliged to receive his note, every banker to take his bill, and every drawer of a bill of exchange to take it back, if not paid; and yet I never understood that such notes or bills were ever deemed legal tender? When I lend to or deposit with another, one hundred pounds, he gives me paper, or a promissory note for repayment. Is he not obliged to receive his paper and deliver me my deposit? Such is the case of a bank bill, and inland bill of exchange, as well as foreign. And the same is the case with respect to American paper money. A farmer pledges his land to the government, and takes paper. When he comes to redeem his pledge, ought he not to return the paper, and ought not the government to be obliged to receive it in discharge of the land? To say that the statute intended to prevent this, is to say it prohibits all paper money in America. But how is their conduct on this occasion to be reconciled with what has passed heretofore. Several of our late laws for the support of government, and the act for payment of the debts of the House of Employment, were liable to the same objection, and yet they have been laid before the King in Council, and passed unrepealed.

I am much pleased with your information, that Mr Jackson is appointed counsel to the Board of Trade. From his good disposition towards America, his knowl-

edge of our affairs, and his great candor and integrity, we have good reason to hope our laws will not be rejected on frivolous pretences and partial policy.

Nothing occurred in our winter or spring sittings worth communicating, or, engaged as I have been, I should have wrote to you on what passed. Several matters of consequence were agitated, but failed; some in the House, some with the governor; particularly a loan-office bill, which he rejected, (though the disposition of the money was to have been by act of Assembly,) because we would not give him, in a manner, the sole nomination of the trustees. But this I do not now regret, since I have been informed of the temper the ministry are in, with respect to American currency.

I am, &c. JOSEPH GALLOWAY.

TO MRS. MARY HEWSON.

London, 24 July, 1770.

DEAR POLLY,

I wrote a few lines to you last week, in answer to yours of the 15th, since which I have been in the country; and, returning yesterday, found your good mother was come home, and had got a letter from you of the 20th. She has just put it into my hands, and desired me to write to you, as she is going into the city with Miss Barwell to buy things. Whether she will have time to write herself, or whether, if she had, she would get over her natural aversion to writing, I cannot say. I rather think she will content herself with your knowing what she should say, and would say, if she wrote; and with my letting you know, that she is well, and very happy in hearing that you are so.

Your friends are all much pleased with your ac

count of the agreeable family, their kind reception and entertainment of you, and the respect shown you; only Dolly and I, though we rejoice and shall do so in every thing that contributes to your happiness, are now and then in low spirits, supposing we have lost each a friend. Barwell says she conceives nothing of this; and that we must be two simpletons to entertain such imaginations. I showed her your letter to your mother, wherein you say, "Dolly is a naughty girl, and, if she does not mend, I shall turn her off; for I have got another Dolly now, and a very good Dolly too." She begged me not to communicate this to Dolly, for though said in jest, yet, in her present state of mind, it would hurt her. I suppose that it was for the same good-natured reason, that she refused to show me a paragraph of your letter to Dolly, that had been communicated by Dolly to her.

July 25th. The above was written yesterday, but, being interrupted, I could not finish my letter in time for the post; though I find I had little to add. Your mother desires me to express abundance of affection for you, and for Mr. Hewson; and to say all the proper things for her, with respect to the rest of your friends there. But you can imagine better than I can write. Sally and little Temple* join in best wishes of prosperity to you both. Make my sincerest respects acceptable to Mr. Hewson, whom, exclusive of his other merits, I shall always esteem in proportion to the regard he manifests for you. Barwell tells me, that your aunt had received his letter, and was highly pleased with it and him; so I hope all will go well there; and I shall take every opportunity of cultivat-

* William Temple Franklin, son of William Franklin, Governor of New Jersey.

ing her good disposition, in which I think you used to be sometimes a little backward, but you always had your reasons.

I am apt to love everybody that loves you, and therefore I suppose I shall in time love your new mother, and new sister, and new Dolly. I find I begin to like them already, and, if you think proper, you may tell them so. But your old Dolly and I have agreed to love each other better than ever we did, to make up as much as we can our supposed loss of you. We like your assurance of continued friendship, unimpaired by your change of condition, and we believe you think as you write; but we fancy we know better than you. You know I once knew your heart better than you did yourself. As a proof that I am right, take notice, — that you now think this the silliest letter I ever wrote to you, and that Mr. Hewson confirms you in that opinion.

However, I am still what I have been so many years, my dear good girl, your sincerely affectionate friend and servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO CADWALLADER EVANS.

Transit of Venus. — Reeling of Silk. — Non-importation Agreement.

London, 27 August, 1770.

DEAR DOCTOR,

I am favored with yours of June 10th. With this I send you our last volume of Philosophical Transactions, wherein you will see printed the Observations of Messrs. Biddle and Bayley on the Transit, as well as those of Messrs. Mason and Dixon relating to the

longitude of places. When you and your friends have perused it, please to deliver it to Mrs. Franklin to be put among my books.

Thanks for the books on the silk affair. It will give me great pleasure to see that business brought to perfection among us. The subscription is a noble one, and does great honor to our public spirit. If you should not procure from Georgia, as you expected, one that understands the reeling, I believe I can procure you such a hand from Italy, a great silk merchant here having offered me his assistance for that purpose, if wanted.

I am happy beyond expression to see the virtue and firmness of our country, with regard to the non-importation. It does us great honor. And New York is in great disgrace with all the friends of liberty in the kingdom, who are, I assure you, no contemptible number, and who applaud the stand we have made, and wish us success. I am, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO M. DUBOURG.

On the Right of Great Britain to tax the Colonies.

London, 2 October, 1770.

I see with pleasure, that we think pretty much alike on the subject of English America. We of the colonies have never insisted, that we ought to be exempt from contributing to the common expenses necessary to support the prosperity of the empire. We only assert, that, having Parliaments of our own, and not having representatives in that of Great Britain, our

Parliaments are the only judges of what we can and what we ought to contribute in this case; and that the English Parliament has no right to take our money without our consent. In fact, the British empire is not a single state; it comprehends many; and, though the Parliament of Great Britain has arrogated to itself the power of taxing the colonies, it has no more right to do so, than it has to tax Hanover. We have the same King, but not the same legislatures.

The dispute between the two countries has already lost England many millions sterling, which it has lost in its commerce, and America has in this respect been a proportionable gainer. This commerce consisted principally of superfluities; objects of luxury and fashion, which we can well do without; and the resolution we have formed of importing no more, till our grievances are redressed, has enabled many of our infant manufactures to take root; and it will not be easy to make our people abandon them in future, even should a connexion more cordial than ever succeed the present troubles. I have, indeed, no doubt that the Parliament of England will finally abandon its present pretensions, and leave us to the peaceable enjoyment of our rights and privileges.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

London, 3 October, 1770.

MY DEAR CHILD,

I received your kind letter of August 16th, which gave me a great deal of satisfaction. I am glad your little grandson recovered so soon of his illness, as I see you are quite in love with him, and that your happiness is wrapped up in his; since your whole long

letter is made up of the history of his pretty actions. It was very prudently done of you not to interfere, when his mother thought fit to correct him; which pleased me the more, as I feared, from your fondness of him, that he would be too much humored, and perhaps spoiled. There is a story of two little boys in the street; one was crying bitterly; the other came to him to ask what was the matter; "I have been," says he, "for a pennyworth of vinegar, and I have broke the glass, and spilled the vinegar, and my mother will whip me." "No she won't whip you," says the other. "Indeed, she will," says he. "What," says the other, "have you then got ne'er a grandmother?"

I am sorry I did not send one of my books to Mr. Rhoads, since he was desirous of seeing it. My love to him, and to all inquiring friends. Mrs. West was here to-day, and desired me to mention her love to you. Mr. Strahan and family are all well, always inquire how you all do, and send their love. Mrs. Stevenson is at present in the country. But Polly sends her love to you, and Mrs. Bache, and the young gentleman. I am, as ever, your affectionate husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

FROM SAMUEL COOPER TO B. FRANKLIN.

Prospect of a Speedy Reconciliation of the Differences between the two Countries not encouraging. — Dr. Franklin appointed Agent for Massachusetts.

Boston, 6 November, 1770.

DEAR SIR,

My state of health, and excursions upon that account into the country, must be my excuse for not taking an

earlier notice of your very obliging packet of the 8th of June, for which I return you my particular thanks. Your letter and replies to Mr. Strahan's questions gave me great pleasure, though the closing and prophetic part, coming from one so capable of discerning amidst the uncertainties of futurity, which may probably take place, could not but impress me with melancholy ideas.* Some of them have since been realized, but may Heaven forbid a further fulfilment. In this wish, I doubt not of your own hearty concurrence; for I do not take you to be of the turn of Swift's physicians, of whom he somewhere says,

"They rather choose that I should die,
Than their predictions prove a lie;"

and yet I am afraid I shall not soon see you thoroughly refuted by events.

So many hope to find their own interest in misrepresentations, so many seem willing to be deceived, and so much art is employed to make whatever is thought convenient appear just and true, that the happy day for establishing the prosperity of Great Britain by composing the troubles, and insuring to her the united affections of America, seems to be at too great a distance.

We ought not, however, to be discouraged from employing the most likely means to promote so desirable an end. Such a means I esteem the choice, which our House of Representatives have made of you to be their agent. Your letter came most seasonably for this. I communicated it with great caution, knowing the delicacy the times require. I allowed, however, some of the leading members of the House in confidence to read your sentiments. They

* See Vol. IV. p. 268.

expressed the highest satisfaction; and, though it was objected, that you were agent for other provinces, and we ought to enlarge the number of our friends, and that you and your son, the governor, held places of importance under the crown; and though the House, from various causes, had been much divided respecting an agent; yet such was their opinion of your abilities and integrity, that a majority readily confided the affairs of the province at this critical season to your care.

I am this moment told the vessel is just upon sailing. I must break off. You see the hurry of this script, but it is to a friend. I shall write more fully soon. Your very respectful, &c.

SAMUEL COOPER.

FROM SAMUEL COOPER TO B. FRANKLIN.

Political Relations between Massachusetts and the Mother Country.

Boston, 15 November, 1770.

DEAR SIR,

I wrote to you on the 6th instant, acknowledging the receipt of your very obliging packet of June 8th, and mentioning the use I should make of the letter and papers among some of the leading men in our House of Representatives, in whom I could confide. They agreed with me, that your principles are incontestable, your reasoning clear and conclusive, and supported by history and fact.

The King has an undoubted right to absolve any of his subjects from their allegiance to himself; certainly then from their subjection to Parliament, which was evidently done by our charters. The security for every

reasonable advantage we can afford our fellow subjects in Britain is, that their sovereign is ours; that, living with them as the superior state, he may be supposed to have a predilection for them; that the consent of a governor appointed by himself and removable at his pleasure is necessary to constitute a law; that, even their laws, for I particularly refer to the Massachusetts, the chief object of jealousy and malice, are subject to the royal control by the advice of a British Council; that the governor has a negative, which creates a greater dependence, than the choice of the Council by the representatives in conjunction with themselves; and that the governor has the appointment of all officers, civil and military, the advice and consent of the Council having long been reduced to a mere shadow, which creates naturally a great interest in the Lower House, and among the body of the people, in favor of prerogative. To all which may be added the natural affection of an infant colony to the parent state, unless subdued by hard usage, and the natural authority of the latter over the former.

Whoever takes a view of these advantages collectively and in all their extent, as they have in fact been found to operate, must be convinced, that, had things been left exactly as they stood before the Stamp Act, Britain would have been far from having any just reason to complain of the independence of our constitution. We had, indeed, scarce any thing left on the side of privilege, but the granting of our own moneys for the support of government, and the furnishing of necessary military aids to the crown. This palladium seems about to leave us; for, after all the complaints made of our obstinacy and ungovernableness, we are daily paying taxes not granted by us, but exacted from us for both these purposes; so that we are in a worse

situation than our fellow subjects in England. We have an army quartered among us, independent of any supplies freely given by us. We have pensioners, not indebted for what they receive to any grant of our own Parliaments; and this may soon become the case of our governors and principal civil officers; for already Lord Dunmore has a warrant upon the Americans for two thousand pounds sterling per annum, commencing from the date of his commission in January last.

I doubt not your best endeavours to obtain a redress of so capital a grievance, and of all others which we have just reason to complain of. The House, I am told, have addressed a long letter to you, in which I suppose they will be enumerated. I send you this by a safe hand, Mr. Isaac Smith, a young gentleman of good sense, and literary accomplishments, who goes abroad for the improvement of his mind, and the enlarging his observations. With the greatest esteem and warmest attachment, I am, dear Sir, &c.

SAMUEL COOPER.

TO THOMAS CUSHING.*

On his Appointment as Agent for Massachusetts. — Opposes the Attempt to abridge the Charter Rights of that Colony.

London, 24 December, 1770.

SIR,

Your favor of October 31st came to hand a few days since, with the vote of the House of Representa-

* Mr. Cushing was Speaker of the Massachusetts Assembly, and in this capacity corresponded with Dr. Franklin during his agency for that colony in England.

tives appointing me their agent here, which, as it was unsolicited on my part, I esteem the greater honor; and shall be very happy, if I can, in that capacity, render my country any acceptable service.*

I have also just received your letter, of November 6th, containing an account of the state and circumstances of the province, and the grievances it labors under, with sundry depositions and other papers. Another of November 17th, with a pamphlet, entitled, the "Proceedings of Council," &c.; another of November 23d, containing an order on Mr. De Berdt for papers. I can at present only say, that I shall immediately endeavour to make myself master of the business committed to my care, that so, when the Parliament and public boards, which are now adjourned for a month, shall meet again, I may be ready to proceed, in such manner, as, on conferring with Mr. Bol-

* He succeeded Mr. De Berdt as agent. Mr. Bollan was agent for the Council. The following extracts are taken from the Journal of the House of Representatives in Massachusetts.

"*October 24th*, 1770. The House proceeded, according to order, to bring in their votes for an agent to appear for this House at the court of Great Britain for one year; and the committee having assorted and counted the votes, reported that Benjamin Franklin was chosen."

"*October 30th*. Ordered, that Mr. Speaker, Mr. Hancock, and Mr. Samuel Adams prepare a resolve authorizing Benjamin Franklin to appear as agent for this House, agreeably to the choice made of him on the 24th instant, and report."

"*October 31st*. Resolved, that Benjamin Franklin be and hereby is appointed and authorized, in behalf of this House, to appear, as there shall be occasion, before his Majesty in Council, or in either House of Parliament, or before any public board in Great Britain, there to plead and defend, as the exigency of the case and the service of the province may require, for the space of one year henceforward, agreeably to such directions or instructions as he may from time to time receive from the House, or from such committee as may by them be appointed and authorized for that purpose; relying on his vigilance, and the utmost exertion of his abilities, to support the constitutional rights of this House and the province, and, as far as in him lies, to defend against whatsoever may tend to prejudice the same."

lan, shall appear advisable for obtaining redress of the grievances so justly complained of.

I have the pleasure to acquaint you, from good authority, that the project formed by the enemies of the province, for bringing into Parliament a bill to abridge our charter rights, though at first it received some countenance, and great pains were taken to recommend it, is now laid aside. I do not presume to suppose, that the opposition I gave to it, (by showing the imprudence of the measure, and declaring openly my opinion on all occasions, that, the charter being a compact between the King and the people of the colony who were *out of the realm* of Great Britain, there existed nowhere on earth a power to alter it, while its terms were complied with, without the consent *of* BOTH *the contracting parties*,) had any weight on the occasion. I rather think, that a disposition prevails of late to be on good terms with the colonies, especially as we seem to be on the eve of a war with Spain; and that, in consequence of that disposition, which I hope we shall cultivate, more attention has been paid to the sober advice of our friends, and less to the virulent instigations of our enemies.

I beg you will present my dutiful respects to the House of Representatives, and assure them of my most faithful endeavours in their service. With great esteem and regard, I have the honor to be, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. JANE MECOM.

False Rumor respecting his resigning his Place in the Postoffice. — His Sentiments on this Subject. — Singular Will of a Printer's Widow.

London, 30 December, 1770.

DEAR SISTER,

This ship, staying longer than was expected, gives me an opportunity of writing to you, which I thought I must have missed when I desired cousin Williams to excuse me to you. I received your kind letter of September 25th, by the young gentlemen, who, by their discreet behaviour have recommended themselves very much to me and many of my acquaintance. Josiah has attained his heart's desire, of being under the tuition of Mr. Stanley, who, though he had long left off teaching, kindly undertook, at my request, to instruct him, and is much pleased with his quickness of apprehension and the progress he makes; and Jonathan appears a very valuable young man, sober, regular, and inclined to industry and frugality, which are promising signs of success in business. I am very happy in their company.

As to the rumor you mention, (which was, as Josiah tells me, that I had been deprived of my place in the postoffice on account of a letter I wrote to Philadelphia,) it might have this foundation, that some of the ministry had been displeased on my writing such letters, and there were really some thoughts among them of showing that displeasure in that manner. But I had some friends, too, who, unrequested by me, advised the contrary. And my enemies were forced to content themselves with abusing me plentifully in the newspapers, and endeavouring to provoke me to

resign. In this they are not likely to succeed, I being deficient in that Christian virtue of resignation. If they would have my office, they must take it.

I have heard of some great man, whose rule it was, with regard to offices, *never to ask for them, and never to refuse them;* to which I have always added, in my own practice, *never to resign them.* As I told my friends, I rose to that office through a long course of service in the inferior degrees of it. Before my time, through bad management, it never produced the salary annexed to it; and, when I received it, no salary was to be allowed, if the office did not produce it. During the first four years it was so far from defraying itself, that it became nine hundred and fifty pounds sterling in debt to me and my colleague. I had been chiefly instrumental in bringing it to its present flourishing state, and therefore thought I had some kind of right to it. I had hitherto executed the duties of it faithfully, and to the perfect satisfaction of my superiors, which I thought was all that should be expected of me on that account. As to the letters complained of, it was true I did write them, and they were written in compliance with another duty, that to my country; a duty quite distinct from that of postmaster.

My conduct in this respect was exactly similar to that I held on a similar occasion but a few years ago, when the then ministry were ready to hug me for the assistance I afforded them in repealing a former revenue act. My sentiments were still the same, that no such acts should be made here for America; or, if made, should as soon as possible be repealed; and I thought it should not be expected of me to change my political opinions every time his Majesty thought fit to change his ministers. This was my language on

the occasion; and I have lately heard, that, though I was thought much to blame, it being understood that every man who holds an office should act with the ministry, whether agreeable or not to his own judgment, yet, in consideration of the goodness of my private character (as they were pleased to compliment me), the office was not to be taken from me.

Possibly they may still change their minds, and remove me; but no apprehension of that sort will, I trust, make the least alteration in my political conduct. My rule, in which I have always found satisfaction, is, never to turn aside in public affairs through views of private interest; but to go straight forward in doing what appears to me right at the time, leaving the consequences with Providence. What in my younger days enabled me more easily to walk upright, was, that I had a trade, and that I knew I could live upon little; and thence (never having had views of making a fortune) I was free from avarice, and contented with the plentiful supplies my business afforded me. And now it is still more easy for me to preserve my freedom and integrity, when I consider that I am almost at the end of my journey, and therefore need less to complete the expense of it; and that what I now possess, through the blessing of God, may, with tolerable economy, be sufficient for me (great misfortunes excepted), though I should add nothing more to it by any office or employment whatsoever.

I send you by this opportunity the two books you wrote for. They cost three shillings apiece. When I was first in London, about forty-five years since, I knew a person, who had an opinion something like your author's. Her name was Ilive, a printer's widow. She died soon after I left England, and by her *will* obliged her son to deliver publicly, in Salters'

Hall, a solemn discourse, the purport of which was to prove, that this world is the true Hell, or place of punishment for the spirits, who had transgressed in a better state, and were sent here to suffer for their sins in animals of all sorts. It is long since I saw the discourse, which was printed. I think a good deal of Scripture was cited in it, and that the supposition was, that, though we now remembered nothing of such a preëxistent state, yet after death we might recollect it, and remember the punishments we had suffered, so as to be the better for them; and others, who had not yet offended, might now behold and be warned by our sufferings.

In fact, we see here, that every lower animal has its enemy, with proper inclinations, faculties, and weapons, to terrify, wound, and destroy it; and that men, who are uppermost, are devils to one another; so that, on the established doctrine of the goodness and justice of the great Creator, this apparent state of general and systematical mischief seemed to demand some such supposition as Mrs. Ilive's, to account for it consistently with the honor of the Deity. But our reasoning powers, when employed about what may have been before our existence here, or shall be after it, cannot go far, for want of history and facts. Revelation only can give us the necessary information, and that, in the first of these points especially, has been very sparingly afforded us.

I hope you continue to correspond with your friends at Philadelphia. My love to your children; and believe me ever your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

FROM SAMUEL COOPER TO B. FRANKLIN.

Trial of Captain Preston. — It ought to make a favorable Impression on the British Government.

Boston, 1 January, 1771.

DEAR SIR,

In my last, of November 15th, I mentioned the use I had made of the sentiments you were pleased to communicate to me, and the effect they had upon the leading men of our House of Commons. I did this with such caution, as that no disadvantage can accrue to you from any quarter. The same caution I shall ever use respecting my friends on your side of the water, who are so good as to write to me with freedom in these troublesome times. I the rather mention this, because it has been industriously reported here, that you and Governor Pownall have been questioned on your letters to America.

You will hear, before this reaches you, of the acquittal of Captain Preston, and the soldiers concerned in the action of the 5th of March. Instead of meeting with any unfair or harsh treatment, they had every advantage that could possibly be given them in a court of justice, in the disposition of judges, in the appointment of the jury, in the zeal and ability of the lawyers, in the examination of witnesses, and in the length of the trials, unexampled I believe both in Britain and the colonies in a capital case; by which the accused had the fairest opportunity, several days after the evidence for the crown had been given in, of producing and arranging their own. These trials, one would think, may wipe off the imputation of our being so violent and bloodthirsty a people, as not to permit law and justice to take place on the side of

unpopular men; and I hope our friends will make this use of them; though they have not, as far as my observation reaches, at all altered the opinion of the people in general of that tragical scene.

There seems now to be a pause in politics. The agreement of the merchants is broken; administration has a fair opportunity of adopting the mildest and most prudent measures respecting the colonies, without the appearance of being threatened or drove; the circumstances of Europe lead to such measures, and are sufficient to show the propriety of securing the affections, as well as the submission, of the colonies. I doubt not of your ability and readiness to employ these and many more arguments, than I can pretend to hint at, in your negotiations for us; and, should government be so temperate and just, as to place us on the old ground on which we stood before the Stamp Act, there is no danger of our rising in our demands.

I send this by the only son of our friend Mr. Bowdoin, a young gentleman whose good qualities have raised the most agreeable hopes in his friends. He leaves the College and takes this voyage chiefly on account of his health, and is followed by the warmest good wishes of all who are acquainted with him. I am, Sir, with the greatest esteem, &c.

SAMUEL COOPER.

TO THOMAS CUSHING.

Right of Parliament to tax the Colonies. — Enemies to Colonial Rights. — Minister refuses to admit an Agent from the Assembly. — Terms upon which the Colonies would be satisfied. — Intention of the Government to make Governors and other civil Officers in America independent of the People.

London, 5 February, 1771.

SIR,

Since mine of December 24th, I have been honored by the letter from the Committee, dated December 17th, which, with yours of November 6th, now lies before me.

The doctrine of the right of Parliament to lay taxes on America is now almost generally given up here, and one seldom meets in conversation with any, who continue to assert it. But there are still many, who think that the dignity and honor of Parliament, and of the nation, are so much engaged, as that no formal renunciation of the claim is ever to be expected. We ought to be contented, they say, with a forbearance of any attempt hereafter to exercise such right; and this they would have us rely on as a certainty. Hints are also given, that the duties now subsisting may be gradually withdrawn, as soon as a regard to that dignity will permit it to be decently done, without subjecting government to the contempt of all Europe, as being compelled into measures by the refractoriness of the colonies. How far this may be depended on, no one can say. The presumption rather is, that if, by time, we become so accustomed to these, as to pay them without discontent, no minister will afterwards think of taking them off, but rather be encouraged to add others.

Perhaps there was never an instance of a colony so much and so long persecuted with vehement and malicious abuse, as ours has been, for near two years past, by its enemies here and those who reside in it. The design apparently was, by rendering us odious, as well as contemptible, to prevent all concern for us in the friends of liberty here, when the projects of oppressing us further, and depriving us of our rights by various violent measures, should be carried into execution. Of late, this abuse has abated; the sentiments of a majority of the ministers are, I think, become more favorable towards us; and I have reason to believe, that all those projects are now laid aside. The projectors themselves, too, are, I believe, somewhat diminished in their credit; and it appears not likely that any new schemes of the kind will be listened to, if fresh occasion is not administered from our side the water. It seems, however, too early yet to expect such an attention to our complaints, as would be necessary to obtain an immediate redress of our grievances. A little time is requisite; but no opportunity will be lost by your agents, of stating them where it may be of use, and inculcating the necessity of removing them, for the strength and safety of the empire. And I hope the colony Assemblies will show, by frequently repeated resolves, that they know their rights, and do not lose sight of them. Our growing importance will ere long compel an acknowledgment of them, and establish and secure them to our posterity.*

* Mr. Johnson, the agent from Connecticut, wrote to Governor Trumbull, nearly at the same time, as follows. "With respect to Massachusetts Bay, there is very great reason to hope, that the design of altering its constitution will be laid aside. The bill, which I mentioned to you as preparing for that purpose, has been settled and approved by many principal officers of state; yet, so strong have been the applications against it, such the representations of the injustice and

In case of my leaving this country, which I may possibly do in the ensuing summer, I shall put into the hands of Dr. Lee * all the papers relating to your affairs, which I have received from you, or from the son of your late agent, Mr. De Berdt. The present American secretary, Lord Hillsborough, has indeed objected to the Assembly's appointment, and insists that no agent ought to be received or attended to, by government here, who is not appointed by an act of the General Court, to which the governor has given his assent. This doctrine, if he could establish it, would in a manner give to his Lordship the power of appointing, or at least negativing any choice of the House of Representatives and Council, since it would be easy for him to instruct the governor not to assent to the appointment of such and such men, who are obnoxious to him; so that, if the appointment is annual, every agent that valued his post must consider himself as holding it by the favor of his Lordship, and of course too much obliged to him to oppose his measures, however contrary to the interest of the province.

Of what use such agents would be, it is easy to judge; and, although I am assured, that, notwithstanding this fancy of his Lordship, any memorial, petition, or other address from, or in behalf of, the House of Representatives to the King in Council, or to either House of Parliament, would be received from your agent as usual, yet, on this occasion, I cannot but wish,

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the ill consequences which would attend it, such is the situation of things, and let me add, to do justice, such is the moderation of *some* of his Majesty's ministers, that I believe it will go no further at present." — *London, January 2d*, 1771.

* Arthur Lee, who, having taken the degree of doctor in medicine before he commenced the study of the law, was sometimes called Dr. Lee.

that the public character of a colony agent was better understood and settled, as well as the political relation between the colonists and the mother country.

When they come to be considered in the light of *distinct states*, as I conceive they really are, possibly their agents may be treated with more respect, and considered more as public ministers. Under the present American administration, they are rather looked on with an evil eye, as obstructers of ministerial measures; and the Secretary would, I imagine, be well pleased to get rid of them, being, as he has sometimes intimated, of opinion that agents are unnecessary, for that, whatever is to be transacted between the assemblies of colonies and the government here, may be done through and by the governor's letters, and more properly than by any agent whatever. In truth, your late nominations, particularly of Dr. Lee and myself, have not been at all agreeable to his Lordship.

I purpose, however, to draw up a memorial, stating our rights and grievances, and, in the name and behalf of the province, protesting particularly against the late innovations in respect to the military power obtruded on the civil, as well as the other infringements of the charter; and at a proper time, if Mr. Bollan on due consideration approves of it and will join me in it, to present it to his Majesty in Council. Whether speedy redress is or is not the consequence, I imagine it may be of good use to keep alive our claims, and show, that we have not given up the contested points, though we take no violent measures to obtain them.*

* On the same day he wrote to Mr. James Bowdoin; "I am very sensible of the honor done me by your House of Representatives, in appointing me their agent here. It will make me extremely happy, if I can render them any valuable service. I have had several conferences with Mr. Bollan on their affairs. There is a good understanding be-

A notion has been much inculcated here by our enemies, that any farther concession on the part of Great Britain would only serve to increase our demands. I have constantly given it as my opinion, that, if the colonies were restored to the state they were in before the Stamp Act, they would be satisfied, and contend no further. As in this I have been supposed not to know, or not to speak the sentiments of the Americans, I am glad to find the same so fully expressed in the Committee's letter. It was certainly, as I have often urged, bad policy, when they attempted to heal our differences by repealing part of the duties only; as it is bad surgery to leave splinters in a wound, which must prevent its healing, or in time occasion it to open afresh.

There is no doubt of the intention to make governors and some other officers independent of the people for their support, and that this purpose will be persisted in, if the American revenue is found sufficient to defray the salaries. Many think this so necessary a measure, that, even if there were no such revenue, the money should issue out of the treasury here. But this, I apprehend, would hardly be the case, there being so many demands at home; and the salaries of so many officers in so many colonies would amount to such an immense sum, that probably the burden would be found too great, and the providing for the expense of their own governments be left to the colonies themselves.

I shall watch every thing that may be moved to the detriment of the province, and use my best endeavours for its service.

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tween us, which I shall endeavour to cultivate. At present the cloud, that threatened our charter liberties, seems to be blown over. In time, I hope harmony will be restored between the two countries, by leaving us in the full possession and enjoyment of our rights."

No public notice has yet been taken of the inflammatory paper mentioned by the Committee, as stuck up in Boston; and I think the indiscretion of individuals is not now so likely, as it has been of late, to make general impressions to our disadvantage. With the greatest respect, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO SAMUEL COOPER.

Character of Lord Hillsborough. — Copies of Letters sent back to England, and Umbrage taken at their Contents. — Remarkable Conference between Dr. Franklin and Lord Hillsborough.

London, 5 February, 1771.

DEAR SIR,

I have just received your kind favor of January 1st by Mr. Bowdoin, to whom I should be glad to render any service here. I wrote to you some weeks since in answer to yours of July and November, expressing my sentiments without the least reserve on points that require free discussion, as I know I can confide in your prudence not to hurt my usefulness here, by making me more obnoxious than I must necessarily be from that known attachment to the American interest, which my duty as well as inclination demands of me.

In the same confidence I send you the enclosed extract from my Journal, containing a late conference between the Secretary * and your friend, in which you will see a little of his temper. It is one of the many instances of his behaviour and conduct, that have given me the very mean opinion I entertain of his

* Lord Hillsborough.

abilities and fitness for his station. His character is conceit, wrongheadedness, obstinacy, and passion. Those, who would speak most favorably of him, allow all this; they only add, that he is an honest man, and means well. If that be true, as perhaps it may, I wish him a better place, where only honesty and well-meaning are required, and where his other qualities can do no harm. Had the war taken place, I have reason to believe he would have been removed. He had, I think, some apprehensions of it himself at the time I was with him. I hope, however, that our affairs will not much longer be perplexed and embarrassed by his perverse and senseless management. I have since heard, that his Lordship took great offence at some of my last words, which he calls extremely rude and abusive. He assured a friend of mine, that they were equivalent to telling him to his face, that the colonies could expect neither favor nor justice during his administration. I find he did not mistake me.

It is true, as you have heard, that some of my letters to America have been echoed back hither; but that has not been the case with any that were written to you. Great umbrage was taken, but chiefly by Lord Hillsborough, who was disposed before to be angry with me, and therefore the inconvenience was the less; and, whatever the consequences are of his displeasure, putting all my offences together, I must bear them as well as I can. Not but that, if there is to be war between us, I shall do my best to defend myself and annoy my adversary, little regarding the story of the Earthen Pot and Brazen Pitcher. One encouragement I have, the knowledge, that he is not a whit better liked by his colleagues in the ministry, than he is by me, that he cannot probably continue where he is much longer, and that he can scarce be

succeeded by anybody, who will not like me the better for his having been at variance with me.

Pray continue writing to me, as you find opportunity. Your candid, clear, and well written letters, be assured, are of great use. With the highest esteem, I am, my dear friend, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

Minutes of the Conference mentioned in the preceding Letter.

Wednesday, 16 January, 1771.

I WENT this morning to wait on Lord Hillsborough. The porter at first denied his Lordship, on which I left my name and drove off. But, before the coach got out of the square, the coachman heard a call, turned, and went back to the door, when the porter came and said, "His Lordship will see you, Sir." I was shown into the levee room, where I found Governor Bernard, who, I understand, attends there constantly. Several other gentlemen were there attending, with whom I sat down a few minutes, when Secretary Pownall* came out to us, and said his Lordship desired I would come in.

I was pleased with this ready admission and preference, having sometimes waited three or four hours for my turn; and, being pleased, I could more easily put on the open, cheerful countenance, that my friends advised me to wear. His Lordship came towards me and said, "I was dressing in order to go to court; but, hearing that you were at the door, who are a man of business, I determined to see you immediately." I thanked his Lordship, and said that my business at present was not much; it was only to pay my respects

* John Pownall, Secretary to the Board of Trade, and brother to Governor Pownall.

to his Lordship, and to acquaint him with my appointment by the House of Representatives of Massachusetts Bay to be their agent here, in which station if I could be of any service — (I was going on to say — "to the public, I should be very happy;" but his Lordship, whose countenance changed at my naming that province, cut me short by saying, with something between a smile and a sneer,)

L. H. I must set you right there, Mr. Franklin, you are not agent.

B. F. Why, my Lord?

L. H. You are not appointed.

B. F. I do not understand your Lordship; I have the appointment in my pocket.

L. H. You are mistaken; I have later and better advices. I have a letter from Governor Hutchinson; he would not give his assent to the bill.

B. F. There was no bill, my Lord; it was a vote of the House.

L. H. There was a bill presented to the governor for the purpose of appointing you and another, one Dr. Lee, I think he is called, to which the governor refused his assent.

B. F. I cannot understand this, my Lord; I think there must be some mistake in it. Is your Lordship quite sure that you have such a letter?

L. H. I will convince you of it directly. (*Rings the bell.*) Mr. Pownall will come in and satisfy you.

B. F. It is not necessary, that I should now detain your Lordship from dressing. You are going to court. I will wait on your Lordship another time.

L. H. No, stay; he will come immediately. (*To the servant.*) Tell Mr. Pownall I want him.

(*Mr. Pownall comes in.*)

L. H. Have not you at hand Governor Hutchin-

son's letter, mentioning his refusing his assent to the bill for appointing Dr. Franklin agent?

Sec. P. My Lord?

L. H. Is there not such a letter?

Sec. P. No, my Lord; there is a letter relating to some bill for the payment of a salary to Mr. De Berdt, and I think to some other agent, to which the governor had refused his assent.

L. H. And is there nothing in the letter to the purpose I mention?

Sec. P. No, my Lord.

B. F. I thought it could not well be, my Lord; as my letters are by the last ships, and they mention no such thing. Here is the authentic copy of the vote of the House appointing me, in which there is no mention of any act intended. Will your Lordship please to look at it? (*With seeming unwillingness he takes it, but does not look into it.*)

L. H. An information of this kind is not properly brought to me as Secretary of State. The Board of Trade is the proper place.

B. F. I will leave the paper then with Mr. Pownall to be ——

L. H. (*Hastily.*) To what end would you leave it with him?

B. F. To be entered on the minutes of that Board, as usual.

L. H. (*Angrily.*) It shall not be entered there. No such paper shall be entered there, while I have any thing to do with the business of that Board. The House of Representatives has no right to appoint an agent. We shall take no notice of any agents, but such as are appointed by acts of Assembly, to which the governor gives his assent. We have had confusion enough already. Here is one agent ap-

pointed by the Council, another by the House of Representatives. Which of these is agent for the province? Who are we to hear in provincial affairs? An agent appointed by act of Assembly we can understand. No other will be attended to for the future, I can assure you.

B. F. I cannot conceive, my Lord, why the consent of the governor should be thought necessary to the appointment of an agent for the people. It seems to me that ——

L. H. (*With a mixed look of anger and contempt.*) I shall not enter into a dispute with YOU, Sir, upon this subject.

B. F. I beg your Lordship's pardon; I do not presume to dispute with your Lordship; I would only say, that it seems to me, that every body of men, who cannot appear in person, where business relating to them may be transacted, should have a right to appear by an agent. The concurrence of the governor does not seem to me necessary. It is the business of the people, that is to be done; he is not one of them; he is himself an agent.

L. H. (*Hastily.*) Whose agent is he?

B. F. The King's, my Lord.

L. H. No such matter. He is one of the corporation by the province charter. No agent can be appointed but by an act, nor any act pass without his assent. Besides, this proceeding is directly contrary to express instructions.

B. F. I did not know there had been such instructions. I am not concerned in any offence against them, and ——

L. H. Yes, your offering such a paper to be entered is an offence against them. (*Folding it up again without having read a word of it.*) No such appoint-

ment shall be entered. When I came into the administration of American affairs, I found them in great disorder. By *my firmness* they are now something mended: and, while I have the honor to hold the seals, I shall continue the same conduct, the same *firmness*. I think my duty to the master I serve, and to the government of this nation, requires it of me. If that conduct is not approved, *they* may take my office from me when they please. I shall make them a bow, and thank them; I shall resign with pleasure. That gentleman knows it, (*pointing to Mr. Pownall,*) but, while I continue in it, I shall resolutely persevere in the same FIRMNESS. (*Spoken with great warmth, and turning pale in his discourse, as if he was angry at something or somebody besides the agent, and of more consequence to himself.*)

B. F. (*Reaching out his hand for the paper, which his Lordship returned to him.*) I beg your Lordship's pardon for taking up so much of your time. It is, I believe, of no great importance whether the appointment is acknowledged or not, for I have not the least conception that an agent can *at present* be of any use to any of the colonies. I shall therefore give your Lordship no further trouble. (*Withdrew.*)

TO CADWALLADER EVANS.

Silkworms. — Reeling of Silk.

London, 10 February, 1771.

DEAR DOCTOR,

I have not now before me your letter, which came with the sample of silk, having put it into the hands of Mr. Walpole with the sample, who has promised me full and particular answers to all your queries, after

the silk has been thoroughly examined. In the mean time he tells me, the best sort appears to him to be worth in itself twenty-seven or twenty-eight shillings a pound, and will fetch that price when some imperfections in the reeling it are remedied. He tells me farther, that the best eggs are to be had from Valencia in Spain, whence he will procure some for you against the next year; the worms from those eggs being the strongest, healthiest, and producing the finest silk of any others; and he thinks you should get some reelers from Italy, which he would likewise undertake to do for you if desired. He is one of the most opulent and noble-spirited merchants of this kingdom.

I shall write to you fully by Osborne, with all the information I can procure. In the mean time, please to present my respects to the gentlemen concerned in the affair, and assure them of my best services. I am, my dear friend, yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS.

London, 5 March, 1771

LOVING COUSIN,

I suppose Jonathan has told you, that the lottery is drawn, and your two new tickets had the same success as the former, namely, one twenty-pound prize, and one blank. Would you go on any further?

Josiah is very happy in being under the tuition of Mr. Stanley, who very kindly undertook him at my request, though he had left off teaching. Josiah goes constantly, too, to several concerts, besides operas and oratorios, so that his thirst for music is in a way of being thoroughly satiated. This is the principal expense; for, in all other respects, I never saw two young

men from America more prudent and frugal, than he and his brother are.

Jonathan seems to have an excellent turn for business, and to be a perfect master of accounts. In the latter he has been of great use to me, having put all mine in order for me. There is a proposal from his uncle of his going to East India, as a writer in the Company's service, which I wish may take place, as I think, if he lives, he cannot fail bringing home a fortune. He had ordered a cargo of goods to be sent you for cousin Wood's shop, and had given expectations of paying ready money. But, one of your bills being protested, there seemed a necessity of asking some credit of the merchant. I advised him to take what was wanting of me, rather than fail in punctuality to his word, which is sacred here among all that would maintain a character in trade. He did so; and thereby also saved the discount without putting me to the least inconvenience, provided the money is replaced in six months; and I was glad I had it in my power to accommodate him.

I hope you have before this time got another tenant for your house, and at the former rent. However, I would have you go on advancing to my sister the amount of it, as I am persuaded she cannot well do without it. She has, indeed, been very unfortunate in her children.* I am glad to hear, that, as soon as the weather permits, the tomb will receive a thorough repair. Your kind care in this matter will greatly oblige your affectionate uncle,

B. FRANKLIN.

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* His sister, Mrs. Jane Mecom, was married very young, and became a widow in early life. She was left in narrow circumstances, but these were repaired, as far as they could be, by the generous and constant bounty of her brother. The sickness and death of some of her

TO MRS. WILLIAMS.

London, 5 March, 1771.

DEAR COUSIN,

I received your kind letter by your sons. They are, I assure you, exceeding welcome to me; and they behave with so much prudence, that no two young men could possibly less need the advice you would have me give them. Josiah is very happily employed in his musical pursuits. And as you hinted to me, that it would be agreeable to you, if I employed Jonathan in writing, I requested him to put my accounts in order, which had been much neglected. He undertook it with the utmost cheerfulness and readiness, and executed it with the greatest diligence, making me a complete new set of books, fairly written out and settled in a mercantile manner, which is a great satisfaction to me, and a very considerable service. I mention this, that you may not be in the least uneasy from an apprehension of their visit being burdensome to me; it being, I assure you, quite the contrary.

It has been wonderful to me to see a young man from America, in a place so full of various amusements as London is, as attentive to business, as diligent in it, and keeping as close at home till it was

children, and the ill success of others in their worldly affairs, caused her much affliction. Her deep feeling on the death of a daughter, is forcibly expressed in a letter written soon afterwards. "Sorrows roll upon me like the waves of the sea. I am hardly allowed time to fetch my breath. I am broken with breach upon breach, and I have now, in the first flow of my grief, been almost ready to say, 'What have I more?' But God forbid, that I should indulge that thought, though I have lost another child. God is sovereign, and I submit." She was remarkable for her strength of mind and character, her good sense and practical views of life, resembling in these respects, more than any others of the family, her brother Benjamin, whom she survived, being the youngest of seventeen children, and the last that died.

finished, as if it had been for his own profit; and as if he had been at the public diversions so often, as to be tired of them.

I pray God to keep and preserve you, and give you again, in due time, a happy sight of these valuable sons; being your affectionate uncle,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN.

Severe Winter. — Walpole's Grant. — Acts of the New Jersey Assembly.

London, 20 April, 1771.

DEAR SON,

It is long since I have heard from you. The last packet brought me no letter, and there are two packets now due. It is supposed that the long easterly winds have kept them back. We have had a severe and tedious winter. There is not yet the smallest appearance of spring. Not a bud has pushed out, nor a blade of grass. The turnips, that used to feed the cattle, have been destroyed by the frost. The hay in most parts of the country is gone, and the cattle perishing for want, the lambs dying by thousands through cold and scanty nourishment. On Tuesday last I went to dine at our friend Sir Matthew Featherstone's through a heavy storm of snow. His windows, you know, look into the park. Towards evening, I observed the snow still lying over all the park, for the ground was before too cold to thaw, it being itself frozen, and ice in the canal. You cannot imagine a more winterlike prospect. Sir Matthew and Lady Featherstone always inquire kindly of your welfare, as do Mr. and Mrs. Sargent.

Sir John Pringle has heard from Mr. Bowman of your kindness to that gentleman, and desires I would present his particular acknowledgments for the attention you have paid to his recommendation. The Ohio affair seems now near a conclusion, and, if the present ministry stand a little longer, I think it will be completed to our satisfaction. Mr. Wharton has been indefatigable, and I think scarce any one I know besides would have been equal to the task, so difficult it is to get business forward here, in which some party purpose is not to be served. But he is always among them, and leaves no stone unturned.*

I have attended several times this winter upon your acts of Assembly. The Board are not favorably disposed towards your insolvent acts, pretending to doubt whether distant creditors, particularly such as reside in England, may not sometimes be injured by them. I have had a good deal of conversation with Mr. Jackson about them, who remarks, that, whatever care the Assembly may, according to my representation of their practice, take in examining into the cases to prevent injustice, yet upon the face of the acts nothing of that care appears. The preambles only say, that such and such persons have petitioned and set forth the hardship of their imprisonment, but not a word of the Assembly's having inquired into the allegations contained in such petitions and found them true; not a word of the general consent of the principal creditors, or of any public notice given of the debtor's intention to apply for such an act; all which, he thinks, should appear in the preambles. And then those acts would be subject to less objection and difficulty in getting them through the offices here. I would have you

* For an account of this "Ohio affair," see Vol. IV. pp. 233, 302.

communicate this to the Speaker of the Assembly, with my best respects. I doubt some of those acts will be repealed. Nothing has been done, or is now likely to be done, by the Parliament, in American affairs. The House of Commons and the city of London are got into a violent controversy, that seems at present to engross the public attention, and the session cannot continue much longer.

By this ship I send the picture, that you left with Meyer. He has never yet finished the miniatures. The other pictures I send with it are for my own house, but this you may take to yours.

B. FRANKLIN.

FROM SAMUEL RHOADS TO B. FRANKLIN.

Limestone. — Trade of Baltimore. — Project of a Canal from the Susquehanna to the Schuylkill. — Pennsylvania Hospital.

Philadelphia, 3 May, 1771.

DEAR FRIEND,

I received thy kind favor of February 10th, and am much obliged by the several useful papers, pamphlets, and samples contained therein. Thy friend Wooller has taken much pains in explaining the method of making our houses secure from fire, which I hope will be of great service. We are much obliged to him. I have given several little bits of the limestone to some of my acquaintance in the country, in hopes it may be found here. I am told they make lime in Berks County, that will harden under water. I have sent for a sample of it, and will try it. We certainly have plenty of stone very like this in appearance, and I hope of the same quality. I am the more concerned

for this discovery, as we are told it was very useful in the works under water of the Duke of Bridgewater's canal, and we expect shortly to be canal-mad, and may want it in such works also.

The growing trade of Baltimore Town in Maryland, drawn principally from our province west of the Susquehanna, begins to alarm us with serious apprehensions of such a rival, as may reduce us to the situation of Burlington and Newcastle on the Delaware; and we can devise no means of saving ourselves but by a canal from the Susquehanna to the Schuylkill, and amending the navigation of all our rivers, so far as they lead towards our capital city. A great number of thy friends are very anxious for promoting this work, particularly the canal, if it is practicable, through the heart of the country. And as thou wast kind enough formerly to send me several papers relating to the navigation of Calder River, I request the favor of adding thereto the last accounts and instructions respecting canals, the construction of their floodgates, wastegates, &c. The Assembly have ordered the Speaker to procure the remainder of the statutes to complete their set in the State House library, by which, I suppose, we shall have those relating to canals; but, if they are to be had singly, please to send one or two, which are the most instructive in the rates, terms, conditions of carriage, and passing the grounds, and the cost shall be paid.*

* Dr. Franklin sent the papers here requested, and Mr. Rhoads wrote to him a year afterwards as follows. "The several papers and pamphlets on canals came safe to hand, and I hope they will be useful, as I find the reports of the great engineers, Smeaton and Brindley, concerning the Scotch canal, contain a great deal of instruction for us inexperienced Americans. I confess myself much obliged to them, and find by thy sending these papers, and so far adopting the project, that canalling grows more into credit among us. At first it was looked

I congratulate thee on the prospect we have of the sum of money lodged in the bank for the Pennsylvania Hospital being now paid, and of thy pleasure in receiving it for that charity, which thou hadst so great a share in establishing. We last night executed a power of attorney to thee, Dr. Fothergill, and David Barclay, to apply to the Court of Chancery in order to receive it; and, lest our Hospital seal should not be sufficient evidence of our act and deed, we called three witnesses, who may be examined by your people on oath respecting the due executing the powers of attorney. If any difficulty should occur, you will not fail of acquainting us with it by the first opportunity. My wife, children, and thy old friend Ann Paschal, desire to be kindly remembered to thee. Thy sincere and affectionate friend,

SAMUEL RHOADS.

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upon as a wild, chimerical project, which all the strength of America could never execute. Now it is hoped for, in time to come. I should have made this acknowledgment by Falconer, but was then out of town with the ingenious David Rittenhouse, on an examination of the ground, in order to judge of the practicability of a canal between the Schuylkill and Susquehanna, to save our western trade from total loss. As he was taken sick on the road, and I was not very well, our discoveries are yet too imperfect to communicate to thee; except that, on levelling the waters of the Schuylkill, we find that river to ascend, or the bed of it to rise, near sixty feet in less than twenty miles, and I suppose it to continue the same ascent to Reading."—*May 30th*, 1772.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE IN MASSACHUSETTS.*

System of Collecting the Customs in America. — Causes of Alienation, and their Tendency to hasten a Disunion of the two Countries. — This Event predicted.

London, 15 May, 1771.

GENTLEMEN,

I have received your favor of the 27th of February, with the Journal of the House of Representatives, and copies of the late oppressive prosecutions in the Admiralty Court, which I shall, as you direct, communicate to Mr. Bollan, and consult with him on the most advantageous use to be made of them for the interest of the province.

I think one may clearly see, in the system of customs to be exacted in America by act of Parliament, the seeds sown of a total disunion of the two countries, though, as yet, that event may be at a considerable distance. The course and natural progress seems to be, first, the appointment of needy men as officers, for others do not care to leave England; then, their necessities make them rapacious, their office makes them proud and insolent, their insolence and rapacity make them odious, and, being conscious that they are hated, they become malicious; their malice urges them to a continual abuse of the inhabitants in their letters to administration, representing them as disaffected and rebellious, and (to encourage the use of severity) as weak, divided, timid, and cowardly. Government believes all; thinks it necessary to support and countenance its officers; their quarrelling with the people is

* The members of this committee were Thomas Cushing, James Otis, and Samuel Adams.

deemed a mark and consequence of their fidelity; they are therefore more highly rewarded, and this makes their conduct still more insolent and provoking.

The resentment of the people will, at times and on particular incidents, burst into outrages and violence upon such officers, and this naturally draws down severity and acts of further oppression from hence. The more the people are dissatisfied, the more rigor will be thought necessary; severe punishments will be inflicted to terrify; rights and privileges will be abolished; greater force will then be required to secure execution and submission; the expense will become enormous; it will then be thought proper, by fresh exactions, to make the people defray it; thence, the British nation and government will become odious, the subjection to it will be deemed no longer tolerable; war ensues, and the bloody struggle will end in absolute slavery to America, or ruin to Britain by the loss of her colonies; the latter most probable, from America's growing strength and magnitude.

But, as the whole empire must, in either case, be greatly weakened, I cannot but wish to see much patience and the utmost discretion in our general conduct, that the fatal period may be postponed, and that, whenever this catastrophe shall happen, it may appear to all mankind, that the fault has not been ours. And, since the collection of these duties has already cost Britain infinitely more, in the loss of commerce, than they amount to, and that loss is likely to continue and increase by the encouragement given to our manufactures through resentment; and since the best pretence for establishing and enforcing the duties is the regulation of trade for the general advantage, it seems to me, that it would be much better for Britain to give them up, on condition of the colonies undertaking to

enforce and collect such, as are thought fit to be continued, by laws of their own, and officers of their own appointment, for the public uses of their respective governments. This would alone destroy those seeds of disunion, and both countries might thence much longer continue to grow great together, more secure by their united strength, and more formidable to their common enemies. But the power of appointing friends and dependents to profitable offices is too pleasing to most administrations, to be easily parted with or lessened; and therefore such a proposition, if it were made, is not very likely to meet with attention.

I do not pretend to the gift of prophecy. History shows, that, by these steps, great empires have crumbled heretofore; and the late transactions we have so much cause to complain of show, that we are in the same train, and that, without a greater share of prudence and wisdom, than we have seen both sides to be possessed of, we shall probably come to the same conclusion.

The Parliament, however, is prorogued, without having taken any of the steps we had been threatened with, relating to our charter. Their attention has been engrossed by other affairs, and we have therefore longer time to operate in making such impressions, as may prevent a renewal of this particular attempt by our adversaries. With great esteem and respect, I have the honor to be, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

The King's Birthday. — His Children.

London, 5 June, 1771.

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have lately made a journey of a fortnight to Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, and Manchester, and returned only in time to be at court on the King's birthday, which was yesterday. The joy was in a fair way of being doubled on the same day; for the Queen was delivered early this morning of another prince, the eighth child, there being now six princes and two princesses, all lovely children. The Prince of Wales and the Bishop of Osnaburg appeared yesterday for the first time in the drawingroom, and gave great pleasure by their sensible, manly behaviour. My journey has been of use to my health; the air and exercise have given me fresh spirits, and I feel now exceedingly well, thanks to God.

I wrote to you lately. I suppose you have written by Falconer, who is not yet heard of. My love to our children and grandson. I am as ever, your affectionate husband, B. FRANKLIN.

TO JONATHAN SHIPLEY, BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH.

Visit at Twyford. — Georgiana Shipley.

London, 24 June, 1771.

MY LORD,

I got home in good time and well; but, on perusing the letters that were sent to me from America during my absence, and considering the business they require of me, I find it not convenient to return so soon

as I intended. I regret my having been obliged to leave that most agreeable retirement, which good Mrs. Shipley put me so kindly in possession of. I now breathe with reluctance the smoky air of London, when I think of the sweet air of Twyford; and, by the time your races are over, or about the middle of next month, if it should not then be unsuitable to your engagements or other purposes, I promise myself the happiness of spending a week or two where I so pleasantly spent the last.

I have taken the liberty of sending by the Southampton stage, which goes to-morrow, a parcel directed to your Lordship, to be left at the turnpike next beyond Winchester, containing one of my books for Miss Georgiana, which I hope she will be good enough to accept as a small mark of my regard for her philosophic genius; and also a specimen of the American dried apples for Mrs. Shipley, that she may judge whether it will be worth while to try the practice. I doubt some dust may have got among them; therefore it will not perhaps be amiss to rinse them a minute or two in warm water, and dry them quick in a napkin; but this is submitted to her better judgment. With great esteem and respect, and many thanks for your abundant civilities, I am, my Lord, &c.

B. FRANKLIN

TO NOBLE WIMBERLY JONES.

Land Claims in Georgia. — Peace expected between the Turks and Russians.

London, 3 July 1771.

SIR,

In mine of May 1st, I enclosed a copy of the petition intended to be presented to the King in Council, in behalf of the possessors of the lands claimed by Sir William Baker's assigns. I am now to acquaint you, that it was presented accordingly, and is referred down to the Board of Trade for their opinion. But, as the Board is about to adjourn for some months, we are advised not to press the consideration of it till they meet again, as they have now too little time to attend to it properly. Immediately on their return to business, we shall urge for their report.

I see by the newspapers that your new Assembly is also dissolved.* I am sorry for these differences, which must be uncomfortable to you and all that wish the welfare of the province.

It is now thought that a peace between the Turks and Russians is likely soon to be concluded, which gives a better prospect of the continuance of peace among the other powers of Europe; for it seldom happens that a war, begun between any two of them, does not extend itself sooner or later till it involves the whole. Spain showed a strong inclination to begin with us; but, France being not willing or ready to join her, she has smothered that inclination for the present. With great esteem, I am, Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

* The Assembly of Georgia, of which Mr. Jones was Speaker.

TO CADWALLADER EVANS.

Particulars respecting the Culture of Silk.

London, 4 July, 1771.

DEAR DOCTOR,

I acquainted you some time since, that I expected soon to obtain satisfactory answers to your queries relating to the specimens of silk you sent over; but I was disappointed till lately, when I had a meeting with Mr. Patterson, esteemed one of the best judges of that commodity, who favored me with the enclosed paper, and, in conversation, with the following particulars.

He thinks that the water, though clear at first, may grow foul with the impurities of the cocoons reeled in it, and therefore should be changed as that appears to be the case. He gave me a skein of what is called the best Italian silk imported here, and advised me to send it over as a pattern, for our people to endeavour to imitate, with regard to its evenness, cleanness from nibs, and lustre; and, that they might better see the difference and understand his remarks, he wished the skeins sent over hither might be returned with it. I send them all together accordingly.

He says the silk reeled from twelve cocoons fetches nearly as good a price as that from six, because it winds well, and there is less *fine waste;* the dropping accidentally, or through inattention, three or four of the cocoons out of twelve not weakening the thread so much in proportion, as when the same number are dropped out of six; nor is the thread so apt to break in winding. I observe that the Italian silk has a sweet smell, as if perfumed. He thinks it is the natural smell of the silk, when prepared in perfection. He understands that the Piedmontese reel is esteemed prefer-

able to Mr. Pullein's. He says we may carry that produce to what length we please. It is impossible to overstock the market, as the demand is continually increasing, silk being more and more worn, and daily entering into the composition of more and a greater variety of manufactures.

I communicated your thanks to Mr. Walpole, who was pleased to assure me he should always be ready to afford the design all the assistance in his power, and will endeavour to procure some eggs for you from Valencia against the next season.

I am much obliged to you for the snuffbox. The wood is beautiful. The manufacturer should be encouraged. I hope our people will not be disheartened by a few accidents, and such disappointments as are incident to all new undertakings, but persevere bravely in the silk business, till they have conquered all difficulties. *By diligence and patience the mouse ate in twain the cable.* It is not two centuries since it was as much a novelty in France, as it is now with us in North America, and the people as much unacquainted with it.

My respects to my good old friend, Mr. Wharton. I hope he is recovered of the indisposition you mention. With sincere esteem, I am, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

FROM SAMUEL COOPER TO B. FRANKLIN.

Lord Hillsborough. — The Project for making the Crown Officers independent of the People is a Violation of the Charter, and impolitic for the King. — Commissioners of Customs.

Boston, 10 July, 1771

DEAR SIR,

My thanks are due to you for writing to me with so much freedom, and I endeavour to make the best use of what you communicate. Your interposition in favor of the charter was kind, and must endear you to every true friend of the province. But what shall we say of those, who were capable of forming or promoting such a design? Can we suppose them possessed of such ideas and principles, as entitle them to influence the councils of a great nation?

I could not but regard with pleasure the figure, which the Secretary made in his conversation with my friend. He must have been uneasy, not only from an apprehension of losing his place, but from feeling also his own littleness; and his self-sufficiency, for a moment at least, must have been suspended amidst all the pomp and parade of his office. His measures respecting this province exactly answer the picture you have given of him; and, while we have in the American department a man, of a size and temper to be a tool of Sir Francis Bernard, his Majesty's service here will be perpetually embarrassed.

The project, for making governors independent for their salaries upon the grants of the people they govern, gives great uneasiness to the most considerate friends of the constitution. The reasons you mention against it are unanswerable. It was taken for granted,

when the charter was received here, that the governor was to be supported by the free gift of the province, and this was doubtless one reason for acquiescing in a compact, that gave so great a power and influence to the crown; and, accordingly, this has been the manner in which the representatives of the crown have constantly been supported. It is a strong connexion between the ruler and the people, tending in every view to promote the great end of government, and the want of which no expedient can supply. The civil list is the free grant of a British Parliament, and is augmented from time to time at their pleasure, but the American revenue is not the gift of the American Assemblies; it is extorted from them by mere power, contrary to their just remonstrances and humble petitions. And, though the Assembly may make a grant to a good governor, at the close of his administration, yet it is in the power of the crown to cut off from the people this very small resource of influence, by obliging its representative not to accept such a grant, while, by its absolute appointment of him, it is absolute master of his conduct.

Nor can there be any pretence for this threatening innovation from the conduct of our provincial Assembly upon this point. For even, in the highest political contest with Sir Francis Bernard, so sensible were the House of the importance of supporting the King's governor, while he remained in office, that they never once proposed to diminish or delay, much less to deny, his salary; and surely it is to be hoped, that the Assembly will never meet with a stronger provocation to such a measure, than they did in him.

I cannot forbear to add, though writing to one who has a much more thorough comprehension of the subject than myself, that this proposed, and, I am afraid,

determined independence, is impolitic on the part of the crown, and tends to prejudice its interest, even considered separately from that of the people; as it will prove a strong temptation to governors to hold a conduct, that will greatly lessen their esteem and influence in the province, and consequently their power to promote the service of the King. Caution and watchfulness in governors, and some regard to the interest, and even the inclinations and humors, of the people, must, I think, be a security to the prerogative; but independence will take off this guard, and lead them to be inattentive to, if not directly to encourage and promote, such things as will still further weaken the political connexion between the parent country and the colonies; so that, I hope the ministry, upon cool consideration, may be induced to lay aside this measure, as they wish the continuance of the constitutional powers of the crown, and that it may long retain the peaceful and happy government of America.

I doubt not of your exerting your abilities and influence for so good a purpose; and, should you succeed, you will do a most important and obliging service to the province. But what are we to expect, when the means of self-defence upon such great points are to be taken from us, and no public moneys are allowed for the support of an agent, unless he be under the control of the governor?

You will no doubt be particularly informed of a new point, that has alarmed us as much as any thing, and is regarded almost universally as an undisguised violation of a fundamental principle of the charter. I mean the governor's refusing to sign the supply bill, because the Commissioners* were not exempted by it

* Commissioners appointed by the government to collect the customs in America.

from taxes. The crown grants by charter, that the General Assembly shall have full power and authority to impose rates and taxes upon all and every the proprietors and inhabitants of the province. No persons, however related to the crown, are excepted. The King now says, by his instructions, no supply bill shall be passed, unless the Commissioners are exempted. Is not this to claim a right to rescind by instruction what was solemnly ceded by charter and compact? The governor may indeed refuse his assent to a supply bill; but can he do it upon a declared principle subversive of the capital privileges of the charter, and only because they exercise the power and authority granted them in it? If the crown can exempt five persons, it may with equal right five hundred; not only the Commissioners, but all judges, justices, clerks of courts, constables, and all friends to government, as men of slavish principles affect to be called, and leave the whole burden of taxes upon those, who wish well to the rights of their country.

In this manner people reason here. But "out of the eater cometh forth meat." Good may arise from this. It is bold and open, and strikes every description of men. It is not a point confined to trade; it regards in itself, and much more in its tendency, the pocket of the farmer, and the farmer will regard his pocket. It shows the disposition of the Commissioners, who, for such a trifle, as the tax they pay, and which perhaps affects their pride much more than their purse, have started a new and important subject of contention; and how fit they are for that influence in governmental measures, which they have so long and so mysteriously possessed.

I long to see your treatise, showing that every lady of Genoa is not Queen of Corsica. I doubt not you

will be able to prove your point. But though I believe you capable of confuting a whole island of queens, I fear whether you could persuade them silently to renounce their crowns and sceptres. I am, Sir, with the greatest esteem, &c.

SAMUEL COOPER.

TO SAMUEL FRANKLIN.

London, 12 July, 1771.

LOVING COUSIN,

I received your kind letter of May 17th, and rejoice to hear, that you and your good family are well. My love to them. With this I send you the print you desire for Mr. Bowen. He does me honor in accepting it.

Sally Franklin presents her duty to you and Mrs. Franklin. Yesterday a very odd accident happened, which I must mention to you, as it relates to your grandfather. A person, that deals in old books, of whom I sometimes buy, acquainted me, that he had a curious collection of pamphlets bound in eight volumes folio, and twenty-four volumes quarto and octavo, which he thought, from the subjects, I might like to have, and that he would sell them cheap. I desired to see them, and he brought them to me. On examining, I found that they contained all the principal pamphlets and papers on public affairs, that had been printed here from the Restoration down to 1715. In one of the blank leaves at the beginning of each volume the collector had written the titles of the pieces contained in it, and the price they cost him. Also notes in the margin of many of the pieces; and the collector, I find, from the handwriting and various other circumstances, was your grandfather, my uncle Ben

jamin. Wherefore, I the more readily agreed to buy them. I suppose he parted with them, when he left England and came to Boston, soon after your father, which was about the year 1716 or 1717, now more than fifty years since. In whose hands they have been all this time I know not. The oddity is, that the bookseller, who could suspect nothing of any relation between me and the collector, should happen to make me the offer of them. My love to your good wife and children. Your affectionate cousin,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO JOHN BARTRAM.

Mr. Bartram's Pension. — Culture of Silk. — Choice of Spectacles.

London, 17 July, 1771.

MY GOOD AND DEAR OLD FRIEND,

I received your kind letter of April 29th, wherein you complain of your friends here not writing to you. I had written a letter to you on the 20th of the same month, which I hope is long since come to hand; but I confess I ought to have written sooner, to acknowledge the receipt of the box of seeds, whereby I was much obliged. As to your pension, there is not, I believe, the least reason for you to apprehend its being stopped I know not who receives it for you here, or I should quicken them in writing to you. But there is no instance in this King's reign of taking away a pension once granted, unless for some great offence Young is in no esteem here as far as I can learn.

I wish your daughter success with her silkworms. I am persuaded nothing is wanting in our country for

the produce of silk, but skill; which will be obtained by persevering till we are instructed by experience.

You take notice of the failing of your eyesight. Perhaps you have not spectacles that suit you, and it is not easy there to provide one's self. People too, when they go to a shop for glasses, seldom give themselves time to choose with care; and, if their eyes are not rightly suited, they are injured. Therefore I send you a complete set, from number one to thirteen, that you may try them at your ease; and, having pitched on such as suit you best at present, reserve those of higher numbers for future use, as your eyes grow still older; and with the lower numbers, which are for younger people, you may oblige some other friends. My love to good Mrs. Bartram and your children. I am, as ever, your faithful friend and servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. On inquiry, I find your pension continues, and will be regularly paid, as it becomes due, to the person you empower to receive it for you.

TO CADWALLADER EVANS.

Method of cultivating Silk in China.

London, 18 July, 1771.

DEAR DOCTOR,

I wrote to you on the 4th instant, and sent you a paper of observations on your specimens of silk, drawn up by Mr. Patterson, who is noted here in that trade, with a specimen of Italian silk as a copy for our people to imitate. But they must not be discouraged if they should not come up to the lustre of it, that being the very finest, and from a particular district in

Italy, none other being equal to it from any other district or any other country.

The European silk I understand is all yellow, and most of the India silk. What comes from China is white. In Ogilby's account of that country, I find that, in the province of Chekiang, "they prune their mulberry trees once a year, as we do our vines in Europe, and suffer them not to grow up to high trees, because through long experience they have learned, that the leaves of the smallest and youngest trees make the best silk, and know thereby how to distinguish the first spinning of the threads from the second, viz. the first is that which comes from the young leaves, that are gathered in March, with which they feed their silkworms; and the second is of the old summer leaves. And it is only the change of food, as to the young and old leaves, which makes the difference in the silk. The prices of the first and second spinning differ among the Chineses. The best silk is that of March, the coarsest of June, yet both in one year." I have copied this passage to show, that in Chekiang they keep the mulberry trees low; but I suppose the reason to be, the greater facility of gathering the leaves. It appears too by this passage, that they raise two crops a year in that province, which may account for the great plenty of silk there. But perhaps this would not answer with us, since it is not practised in Italy, though it might be tried. Chekiang is from twenty-seven to thirty-one degrees of north latitude. Duhalde has a good deal on the Chinese management of the silk business.

Dr. Pullein is an acquaintance of mine. I will forward any letters you may send him. He lives in Ireland, but often comes to I

As you did not write othergil communi-

cated to him what you wrote in favor of Mr. Parke, who is to wait on him to-morrow. I shall be glad to render the young man any service here.

We had a cold, backward spring here, and it is since the solstice that we have had what may be called a warm day. But the country now looks well with the prospect of great plenty. It is, however, the general opinion, that Britain will not for some years export much corn, great part of the arable land being now enclosed and turned to grass, to nourish the immense number of horses raised for exportation, there being a rage in France and other parts of Europe for English horses, that seems increasing every year.

I hope our friend Galloway will not decline the public service in the Assembly with his private business. Both may be too much for his health; but the first alone will be little more than an amusement. And I do not see that he can be spared from that station, without great detriment to our affairs and to the general welfare of America. I am, with sincere esteem, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. The enclosed notes were given me by Mr. Small, a leading member of the Society of Arts, with a desire that I would send them over to some member of your Philosophical Society; supposing the herbs may be of some use.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

Visit to the Bishop of St. Asaph's Family.

London, 14 August, 1771.

MY DEAR CHILD,

I am glad to hear of all your welfares, and that the pictures were safe arrived. You do not tell me who mounted the great one, nor where you have hung it up. Let me know whether Dr. Bond likes the new one better than the old one; if so, the old one is to be returned hither to Mr. Wilson, the painter. You may keep the frame, as it may be wanted for some other picture there. I wrote to you a letter the beginning of last month, which was to go by Captain Falconer, and have since been in the country. I am just returned to town, and find him still here, and the letters not gone. He goes, however, next Saturday.

I had written to many of my friends by him. I spent three weeks in Hampshire, at my friend the Bishop of St. Asaph's. The Bishop's lady knows what children and grandchildren I have and their ages; so, when I was to come away on Monday the 12th, in the morning, she insisted on my staying that one day longer, that we might together keep my grandson's birthday. At dinner, among other nice things, we had a floating island, which they always particularly have on the birthdays of any of their own six children, who were all but one at table, where there was also a clergyman's widow, now above one hundred years old. The chief toast of the day was, Master Benjamin Bache, which the venerable old lady began in a bumper of *mountain*. The Bishop's lady politely added, "and that he may be as good a man as his grand-

father." I said I hoped he would be *much better*. The Bishop, still more complaisant than his lady, said, "We will compound the matter, and be contented if he should not prove *quite so good*." This chitchat is to yourself only, in return for some of yours about your grandson, and must only be read to Sally, and not spoken of to anybody else; for you know how people add and alter silly stories that they hear, and make them appear ten times more silly.

Just while I am writing, the post brings me the enclosed from the good Bishop, with some letters of recommendation for Ireland, to see which country I am to set out next week with my old friend and fellow traveller, Counsellor Jackson. We expect to be absent a month or six weeks. The Bishop's youngest daughter, mentioned in his letter, is about thirteen years of age, and came up with me in the postchaise to go to school.

Captain Osborn is not yet arrived here, but is every day expected. I hope he will come before I set out, that I may hear from you by him. I desire you will push the inquiry after the Lancaster Dutchman, and not let it sleep and be forgotten. I send you by Captain Falconer a box of looking-glasses for the closet door in the *——

* The remainder is lost. It was during this visit at the Bishop of St Asaph's, that Dr. Franklin commenced writing the memoirs of his life, in the form of a letter to his son.

TO MRS. MARY HEWSON.

Preston, 25 November, 1771.

DEAR FRIEND,

I came to this place on Saturday night, right well, and untired with a seventy miles' journey. That day I met with your and my Dolly's joint letter, which would have refreshed me with its kindness, if I had been ever so weary.

The account you give of a certain lady's having entertained a new gallant, in my absence, did not surprise me; for I have been used to rivals, and scarce ever had a friend or a mistress in my whole life, that other people did not like as well as myself. And, therefore, I did not wonder, when I read in the newspapers some weeks since, that "the Duke of C." (that general lover) "had made many visits of late to an old lady not many miles from Craven Street." I only wondered, considering the dislike she used to have for the family, that she would receive his visits. But as I saw, soon after, that Prince Charles had left Rome, and was gone a long journey, nobody knew whither, I made no doubt but the newswriters had mistaken the person, and that it was he, who had taken the opportunity of my absence to solace himself with his old friend.

I thank you for your intelligence about my godson I believe you are sincere, when you say you think him as fine a child as you wish to see. He had cut two teeth, and three, in another letter, make five; for I know you never write tautologies. If I have overreckoned, the number will be right by this time. His being like me in so many particulars pleases me prodigiously; and I am persuaded there is another, which you have omitted, though it must have occurred to

you while you were putting them down. Pray let him have every thing he likes. I think it of great consequence while the features of the countenance are forming; it gives them a pleasant air, and, that being once become natural and fixed by habit, the face is ever after the handsomer for it, and on that much of a person's good fortune and success in life may depend. Had I been crossed as much in my infant likings and inclinations as you know I have been of late years, I should have been, I was going to say, not near so handsome; but as the vanity of that expression would offend other folks' vanity, I change it, out of regard to them, and say, a great deal more homely.

I rejoice that your good mother's new regimen succeeds so well with her. We are to set out, my son and I, to-morrow for London, where I hope to be by the end of the week, and to find her, and you, and all yours well and happy. My love to them all. They tell me dinner is coming in, and I have yet said nothing to Dolly; but must nevertheless conclude, my dear friend, yours ever most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. JANE MECOM.

Family Details. — How to choose Spectacles.

London, 13 January, 1772.

MY DEAR SISTER,

I received your kind letters of September 12th and November 9th. I have now been some weeks returned from my journey through Wales, Ireland, Scotland, and the North of England, which, besides being an agreeable tour with a pleasant companion, has contrib-

uted to the establishment of my health; and this is the first ship I have heard of, by which I could write to you.

I thank you for the receipts; they are as full and particular as one could wish; but they can easily be practised only in America, no bayberry wax, nor any Brasiletto, being here to be had, at least to my knowledge. I am glad, however, that those useful arts, which have so long been in our family, are now put down in writing. Some future branch may be the better for it.

It gives me pleasure, that those little things sent by Jonathan proved agreeable to you. I write now to cousin Williams to press the payment of the bond. There has been forbearance enough on my part; seven years or more, without receiving any principal or interest. It seems as if the debtor was like a whimsical man in Pennsylvania, of whom it was said that, it being against his principle to pay interest, and against his interest to pay the principal, he paid neither one nor the other.

I doubt you have taken too old a pair of glasses, being tempted by their magnifying greatly. But people in choosing should only aim at remedying the defect. The glasses that enable them to see *as well*, at the *same distance* they used to hold their book or work, while their eyes were good, are those they should choose; not such as make them see *better*, for such contribute to hasten the time when still older glasses will become necessary.

All, who have seen my grandson, agree with you in their accounts of his being an uncommonly fine boy, which brings often afresh to my mind the idea of my son Franky,* though now dead thirty-six years,

* His son, Francis Folger, who died when four years of age.

whom I have seldom since seen equalled in every thing, and whom to this day I cannot think of without a sigh. Mr. Bache is here; I found him at Preston, in Lancashire, with his mother and sisters, very agreeable people, and I brought him to London with me. I very much like his behaviour. He returns in the next ship to Philadelphia. The gentleman who brought your last letter, Mr. Fox, stayed but a few minutes with me, and has not since called, as I desired him to do.

I shall endeavour to get the arms you desire for cousin Coffin. Having many letters to write, I can now only add my love to cousin Jenny, and that I am, as ever, your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. Sally Franklin presents her duty. Mrs. Stevenson desires to be affectionately remembered. No arms of the Folgers are to be found in the Herald's Office. I am persuaded it was originally a Flemish family, which came over with many others from that country in Queen Elizabeth's time, flying from the persecution then raging there.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Penobscot Lands. — Endeavours to obtain a Redress of Grievances. — Concerning his Expenses.

London, 13 January, 1772.

GENTLEMEN,

On my return from a late tour through Ireland and Scotland, for the establishment of my health, I found your respected letter of June 25th, with the papers

therein referred to, relating to the townships settled eastward of Penobscot River. I immediately waited on Mr. Bollan to consult with him, agreeably to your instructions, who informed me, that, in my absence, he had by himself thoroughly considered the same, having formerly had occasion to be acquainted with the whole affair, and he suggested to his constituents, the Council, a plan of accommodation to be proposed to government here, if they should approve of it; and that he hoped by the meeting of Parliament (before which, little public business is done here, so many of the Lords of the Council being out of town,) he might have their answer; and it would otherwise be to little purpose to attempt any thing sooner. I make no doubt but the proposal has been communicated to the House of Representatives, if they have since had a meeting, and that we may soon receive their further instructions thereon.

The town now begins to fill with members of Parliament, and great officers of state coming in daily to celebrate the Queen's birthday, and be present at the opening of the session, which is fixed for next Tuesday. It is given out, that nothing relating to America is likely to be agitated this session; that is, there is no purpose either to abrogate the old duties or lay new ones. For the first, I am sorry, believing as I do, that no harmony can be restored between the two countries, while these duties are continued. This, with the other aggrievances mentioned in your letters of June 29th and July 13th, your agents will constantly attend to, and take every step possible in their present situation, unacknowledged as they are here, to obtain the redress, that is so justly your due, and which it would be so prudent in government here to grant.

In yours of July 9th it is mentioned, that the House

desire I would annually send an account of the expense I am at, in carrying on the affairs of the province. Having business to do for several colonies, almost every time I go to the public offices, and to the ministers, I have found it troublesome to keep an account of small expenses, such as coach and chair hire, stationery, &c., and difficult to divide them justly. Therefore I have some time since omitted keeping any account, or making any charge of them, but content myself with such salaries, grants, and allowances, as have been made me. Where considerable sums have been disbursed, as in fees to counsel, payment of solicitors' bills, and the like, those I charge. But as yet I have made no such disbursements on the account of your province. Please to present my duty to the House of Representatives, and believe me to be, with great esteem and respect, Gentlemen, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO SAMUEL COOPER.

Reasons why the Governors should not be paid by the Crown. — Commissioners of the Customs. — Commodore Gambier. — Anecdote.

London, 13 January, 1772.

DEAR SIR,

I have now before me your several favors. A long journey I took in the summer and autumn, for the establishment of my health, prevented my answering sooner the two first. I hope the state of your health also is mended by your retirement into the country, as mine has sensibly been by that journey.

You have furnished me with a very good additional argument against the crown's paying its governors,

namely, that the proposed independence is impolitic on the part of the crown, and tends to prejudice its interest, even considered separately from that of the people, as it will prove a strong temptation to governors to hold a conduct, that will greatly lessen their esteem and influence in the province, and consequently their power to promote the service of the King. Indeed, the making it a rule among ourselves, that the governor is to have his salary from our Assemblies, though his public conduct should be wilfully and maliciously prejudicial to the province, has the same tendency, of which the conduct of Governor Bernard, while he was constantly and regularly paid by us, is a considerable proof; and, therefore, in my opinion, if we would have our power of granting the support operate with any weight in maintaining an influence with the governor, it should have been withheld from him, and we should withhold it in part or in the whole, according to the circumstances, as often as such a conduct appears in any governor; otherwise the power, if in such cases it is not to be used, would seem of very little importance. And since the Assembly have of late years, and under such great provocations, never attempted to abridge or withhold the salary, no reason appears why the American minister should now think it necessary or advisable for the crown to take the payment of its governor upon itself, unless it be with an intention to influence him, by withholding it when he declines executing arbitrary instructions; and then, in such cases, the people should be sure to compensate him. As to procuring here any change of this measure, I frankly own to you, that I despair of it while the administration of American affairs continues in the hands of Lord Hillsborough; and while, by our paying the duties, there is a sufficient American fund,

out of which such salaries can be satisfied. The failure of that fund would be the most likely means of demolishing the project.

The attempt to get the Commissioners exempted from the payment of their taxes, by an instruction to the governor, is the most indiscreet thing surely, to say nothing of its injustice, that any prudent government was ever guilty of. I cannot think it will be persisted in. I hope it will never be complied with. If the supply bill is duly offered without the clause, I am persuaded it will not long be refused. The public must, however, suffer in the mean time by the want of the supply; but that will be a good foundation for an impeachment here. Your reasonings against the instruction are unanswerable, and will be of use in the discussing that business.

I am glad that Commodore Gambier behaved in so satisfactory a manner. His uncle, Mr. Mead, first commissioner of the customs, is a particular and intimate friend of mine, a man of great moderation and prudence. I knew, that he gave his nephew, before he went hence, a great deal of good advice with regard to his conduct among the people of Boston, for whom he has a great esteem and regard, having formerly commanded a frigate stationed there; and he is happy to find by your letter, which I communicated to him, that his advice was so well followed. He gave also equally good advice to your indiscreet Commissioners, when they were sent out; but they had not sense enough to follow it, and therefore have been the authors of infinite mischief. I wonder at the invention of so improbable a lie, as that I should desire a place among them, who am daily urging the expediency of their dissolution. The other calumny you mention, contained in an anonymous letter to the Speaker, is

so weak, that I believe you do not think that I ought to take any notice of it.*

As to the agency, whether I am re-chosen or not, and whether the General Assembly is ever permitted to pay me or not, I shall nevertheless continue to exert myself in behalf of my country as long as I see a probability of my being able to do it any service. I have nothing to ask or expect of ministers. I have, thanks to God, a competency for the little time I may expect to live, and am grown too old for ambition of any kind, but that of leaving a good name behind me.

Your story of the clergyman and proclamation is a pleasant one. I can only match it with one I had from my father. I know not if it was ever printed. Charles the First ordered his proclamation, authorizing sport on a Sunday, to be read in all churches. Many clergymen complied, some refused, and others hurried it through as indistinctly as possible. But one, whose congregation expected no such thing from him, did, nevertheless, to their great surprise read it distinctly. He followed it, however, with the fourth commandment, *Remember to keep holy the Sabbath day*, and then said; "Brethren, I have laid before you the commandment of your King, and the commandment of your God. I leave it to yourselves to judge which of the two ought rather to be observed." With great and sincere esteem, I remain, dear Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

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* Dr. Cooper had written; "Mr. Cushing showed me this morning an anonymous letter, directed to him as from London in a feigned hand, representing you as a tool of Lord Hillsborough. Whether it originated on this or your side of the water is uncertain. It will make no impression to your disadvantage, but rather confirm the opinion of your importance, while it shows the baseness of its author." — *August* 23*d*, 1771. Considering the time when Mr. Cushing received this anonymous letter, and that similar sentiments were expressed nearly at the

TO JAMES BOWDOIN.

Dr. Priestley. — Sentiments of Lord Granville respecting American Affairs. — Colonial Agents in England.

London, 13 January, 1772.

DEAR SIR,

I should very readily have recommended your son to the care of my friend, Dr. Priestley, if he had continued to superintend the academy at Warrington; but he has left that charge some time since, and is now pastor of a congregation at Leeds in Yorkshire. I am much obliged to you for introducing me to the acquaintance of Mr. Erving, who appears a very intelligent, sensible man.

The governing of colonies by instruction has long been a favorite point with ministers here. About thirty years since, in a bill brought into Parliament relating to America, they inserted a clause to make the King's instructions *laws* in the colonies, which, being opposed by the then agents, was thrown out. And I well remember a conversation with Lord Granville, soon after my arrival here, in which he expressed himself on that subject in the following terms. "Your American Assemblies slight the King's instructions, pretending that they are not laws. The instructions sent over to your governors are not like the pocket instructions given to ambassadors, to be observed at their discretion, as circumstances may require. They are drawn up by grave men, learned in the laws and constitutions of the realm; they are brought into Council, thoroughly weighed, well considered, and amended if necessary,

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same time in a letter from London to Mr. Samuel Adams, there can be little doubt as to its origin. See the second note to a letter from Dr Franklin to Mr. Cushing, dated July 7th, 1773; Vol. VIII. p. 57.

by the wisdom of that body; and, when received by the governors, they are the laws of the land; for the King is the *legislator of the colonies.*"

I remember this the better, because, being a new doctrine to me, I put it down as soon as I returned to my lodgings. To be sure, if a governor thinks himself obliged to obey all instructions, whether consistent or inconsistent with the constitution, laws, and rights of the country he governs, and can proceed to govern in that train, there is an end of the constitution, and those rights are abolished. But I wonder, that any honest gentleman can think there is honor in being a governor on such terms. And I think the practice cannot possibly continue, especially if opposed with spirit by our Assemblies. At present no attention is paid by the American ministers to any agent here, whose appointment is not ratified by the governor's assent; and, if this is persisted in, you can have none to serve you in a public character, that do not render themselves agreeable to these ministers, and those otherwise appointed can only promote your interests by conversation, as private gentlemen or by writing.

Virginia had, as you observe, two agents, one for the Council, the other for the Assembly; but I think the latter only was considered as agent for the province. He was appointed by an act, which expired in the time of Lord Botetourt, and was not revived. The other, I apprehend, continues; but I am not well acquainted with the nature of his appointment. I only understand, that he does not concern himself much with the general affairs of the colony.

It gives me great pleasure, that my book afforded any to my friends. I esteem those letters of yours among its highest ornaments; and have the satisfac-

tion to find, that they add greatly to the reputation of American philosophy.*

There is, in the governor's Collection of Papers relative to the colony of Massachusetts Bay, published in 1769, a copy of an answer made by Randolph to several *Heads of Inquiry*, which I take to be the same with those I sent you.† I shall be very glad to have an account of the present number of ratables, when you can obtain it for me.

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* The letters and papers on philosophical subjects, here referred to as written by Mr. Bowdoin, are contained in the fifth and sixth volumes of this work.

† Dr. Franklin had sent to Mr. Bowdoin a set of *Queries*, respecting the state of affairs in New England, which were given to Edward Randolph by the ministry, when he was about to visit Massachusetts in 1676. Randolph returned answers to them the same year. The Queries and Answers are contained in Hutchinson's *Collection of Papers*, p. 477. Accompanying the Queries, Randolph received an estimate, which is said to have been drawn from the best sources of information. A copy of this Estimate was obtained by Dr. Franklin, and sent to Mr. Bowdoin. It is curious as a historical document, and has the merit of brevity. Its date is fifty-six years after the first settlement of Plymouth.

"There are in New England about 120,000 souls; 13,000 families; 16,000 that can bear arms; 12 ships of between 100 and 220 tons; 190, of between 20 and 100 tons; 440 fisherboats of about 6 tons each.

"There are 5 iron works, which cast no guns; 15 merchants, worth about £5000, one with another; 500 persons, worth £3000 each. No house in New England hath above 20 rooms; not 20 in Boston, which have above 10 rooms each. About 1500 families in Boston. The worst cottages in New England are lofted. No beggars; not 3 put to death for theft.

"About 35 rivers and harbours. About 23 islands and fishing-places. The three provinces of Boston, Maine, and Hampshire are three fourths of the whole in wealth and strength; the other four provinces of Plymouth, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Kennebec being but one quarter of the whole in effect. Not above three of their military men have ever been actual soldiers, but many are such soldiers as the artillerymen at London. Amongst their magistrates, Leverett, the governor, Major Dennison, Major Clarke, and Mr. Broadstreet are the most popular. And amongst their ministers, Mr. Thatcher, Mr. Oxenbridge, and Mr. Higginson.

"There are no musicians by trade. One dancing school was set up, but put down. A fencing school is allowed. All cordage, sailcloth,

In Ireland, among the patriots, I dined with Dr. Lucas. They are all friends of America, in which I said every thing I could think of to confirm them. Lucas gave Mr. Bowdoin of Boston for his toast. My best respects to Mrs. Bowdoin. With sincere and great esteem, I am, dear Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO JOSHUA BABCOCK.

Agricultural Employments. — Condition of the Poor in Ireland. — Benefits of Civilization.

London, 13 January, 1772.

DEAR SIR,

It was with great pleasure I learnt, by Mr. Marchant, that you and Mrs. Babcock and all your good family continue well and happy. I hope I shall find you all in the same state, when I next come your way, and take shelter, as often heretofore, under your hospitable roof. The Colonel, I am told, continues an active and able farmer, the most honorable of all employments, in my opinion, as being the most useful in itself, and rendering the man most independent. My namesake, his son, will soon, I hope, be able to drive the plough for him.

I have lately made a tour through Ireland and Scotland. In those countries, a small part of the society are landlords, great noblemen, and gentlemen, extreme-

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and nets come from England. No cloth made there worth above 4*s.* a yard; nor linen worth above 2*s.* 6*d.* No allum, nor copperas, nor salt by the sun.

"They take an oath of fidelity to the governor, but none to the King. The governor is chosen by every freeman. A freeman must be orthodox, above twenty years of age, and worth about £200."

ly opulent, living in the highest affluence and magnificence. The bulk of the people are tenants, extremely poor, living in the most sordid wretchedness, in dirty hovels of mud and straw, and clothed only in rags.

I thought often of the happiness of New England, where every man is a freeholder, has a vote in public affairs, lives in a tidy, warm house, has plenty of good food and fuel, with whole clothes from head to foot, the manufacture, perhaps, of his own family. Long may they continue in this situation! But, if they should ever envy the trade of these countries, I can put them in a way to obtain a share of it. Let them, with three fourths of the people of Ireland, live the year round on potatoes and buttermilk, without shirts, then may their merchants export beef, butter, and linen. Let them, with the generality of the common people of Scotland, go barefoot, then may they make large exports in shoes and stockings; and, if they will be content to wear rags, like the spinners and weavers of England, they may make cloths and stuffs for all parts of the world.

Farther, if my countrymen should ever wish for the honor of having among them a gentry enormously wealthy, let them sell their farms and pay racked rents; the scale of the landlords will rise, as that of the tenants is depressed, who will soon become poor, tattered, dirty, and abject in spirit. Had I never been in the American colonies, but were to form my judgment of civil society by what I have lately seen, I should never advise a nation of savages to admit of civilization; for I assure you, that, in the possession and enjoyment of the various comforts of life, compared to these people, every Indian is a gentleman, and the effect of this kind of civil society seems to

be, the depressing multitudes below the savage state, that a few may be raised above it. My best wishes attend you and yours, being ever, with great esteem, &c. B. FRANKLIN.

TO THOMAS CUSHING.

Tour in Ireland. — Visit to Lord Hillsborough. — His extraordinary Civilities, and Sentiments on American Affairs. — Irish Parliament.

London, 13 January, 1772.

SIR,

I am now returned again to London from a journey of some months in Ireland and Scotland. Though my constitution, and too great confinement to business during the winter, seem to require the air and exercise of a long journey once a year, which I have now practised for more than twenty years past, yet I should not have been out so long this time, but that I was well assured the Parliament would not meet till towards the end of January, before which meeting few of the principal people would be in town, and no business of importance likely to be agitated relating to America.

I have now before me your esteemed favors. In the first you mention, that the General Assembly was still held out of its ancient and only convenient seat, the Townhouse in Boston, and by the latest papers from thence I see, that it was prorogued again to meet in Cambridge, which I a little wonder at, when I recollect a question asked me by Lord Hillsborough in Ireland, viz. Whether I had heard from New England lately, since the General Court was returned to Boston? From this I concluded, that orders had been

transmitted by his Lordship for its removal. Perhaps such may have been sent, to be used discretionally. I think I have before mentioned to you one of the articles of impeachment brought against a bad minister of a former King; "That to work his ends he had caused the Parliament to sit *in villibus et remotis partibus regni*, where few people, *propter defectum hospitii et victualium*, could attend, thereby to force *illos paucos, qui remanebunt de communitate regni, concedere regi quamvis pessima.*" Lord Clarendon, too, was impeached for endeavouring to introduce arbitrary government into the colonies.

Lord Hillsborough seems, by the late instructions, to have been treading in the paths, that lead to the same unhappy situation, if the Parliament here should ever again feel for the colonies. Being in Dublin, at the same time with his Lordship, I met with him accidentally at the Lord Lieutenant's, who had happened to invite us to dine with a large company on the same day. As there was something curious in our interview, I must give you an account of it. He was surprisingly civil, and urged my fellow travellers and me to call at his house in our intended journey northward, where we might be sure of better accommodations than the inns would afford us. He pressed us so politely, that it was not easy to refuse without apparent rudeness, as we must pass through his town, Hillsborough, and by his door; and therefore, as it might afford an opportunity of saying something on American affairs, I concluded to comply with his invitation.

His Lordship went home some time before we left Dublin. We called upon him, and were detained at his house four days, during which time he entertained us with great civility, and a particular attention to me.

that appeared the more extraordinary, as I knew that just before we left London he had expressed himself concerning me in very angry terms, calling me a republican, a factious, mischievous fellow, and the like.

In our conversations he first showed himself a good Irishman, blaming England for its narrowness towards that country in restraining its commerce, and discouraging its woollen manufacture. When I applied his observations to America, he said he had always been of opinion, that America ought not to be restrained in manufacturing any thing she could manufacture to advantage; that he supposed, that, at present, she found more profit in agriculture; but, whenever she found that less profitable, or any particular manufacture more so, he had no objection to her pursuing it; and that the subjects in every part of the King's dominion had a natural right to make the best use they could of the productions of their country. He censured Lord Chatham for affecting in his speech, that the Parliament had a right or ought to restrain manufactures in the colonies; adding, that, as he knew the English were apt to be jealous on that head, he avoided every thing that might inflame that jealousy; and, therefore, though the Commons had requested the crown to order the governor to send over annually accounts of such manufactures, as were undertaken in the colonies, yet, as they had not ordered such accounts to be annually laid before them, he should never produce them till they were called for.

Then he gave me to understand, that the bounty on silk raised in America was a child of his, and he hoped it would prove of great advantage to that country; and that he wished to know in what manner a bounty on raising wine there might be contrived, so as to operate effectually for that purpose, desiring me

to turn it in my thoughts, as he should be glad of my opinion and advice. Then he informed me, that Newfoundland was grown too populous to be left any longer without a regular government, but there were great difficulties in the forming such a kind of government as would be suitable to the particular circumstances of that country, which he wished me likewise to consider, and that I would favor him with my sentiments.

He seemed attentive to every thing, that might make my stay in his house agreeable to me, and put his eldest son Lord Killwarling into his phaeton with me, to drive me a round of forty miles, that I might see the country, the seats, and manufactures, covering me with his own greatcoat, lest I should take cold. In short, he seemed extremely solicitous to impress me, and the colonies through me, with a good opinion of him. All which I could not but wonder at, knowing that he likes neither them nor me; and I thought it inexplicable but on the supposition, that he apprehended an approaching storm, and was desirous of lessening beforehand the number of enemies he had so imprudently created. But, if he takes no steps towards withdrawing the troops, repealing the duties, restoring the Castle, or recalling the offensive instructions, I shall think all the plausible behaviour I have described is meant only, by patting and stroking the horse, to make him more patient, while the reins are drawn tighter, and the spurs set deeper into his sides.

Before leaving Ireland I must mention, that, being desirous of seeing the principal patriots there, I stayed till the opening of their Parliament. I found them disposed to be friends of America, in which I endeavoured to confirm them, with the expectation that our growing weight might in time be thrown into their

scale, and, by joining our interests with theirs, a more equitable treatment from this nation might be obtained for them as well as for us. There are many brave spirits among them. The gentry are a very sensible, polite, and friendly people. Their Parliament makes a most respectable figure, with a number of very good speakers in both parties, and able men of business. And I must not omit acquainting you, that, it being a standing rule to admit members of the English Parliament to sit (though they do not vote) in the House among the members, while others are only admitted into the gallery, my fellow traveller, being an English member, was accordingly admitted as such. But I supposed I must go to the gallery, when the Speaker stood up, and acquainted the House, that he understood there was in town an American gentleman of (as he was pleased to say) distinguished character and merit, a member or delegate of some of the Parliaments of that country, who was desirous of being present at the debates of the House; that there was a rule of the House for admitting members of English Parliaments, and that he supposed the House would consider the American Assemblies as English Parliaments; but, as this was the first instance, he had chosen not to give any order in it without receiving their directions. On the question, the House gave a loud, unanimous *ay;* when two members came to me without the bar*——

* The remainder is lost.

TO SAMUEL FRANKLIN.

How to choose a Wife.

London, 13 January, 1772.

DEAR COUSIN,

I received your kind letter of November 8th, and rejoice to hear of the continued welfare of you and your good wife and four daughters. I hope they will all get good husbands. I dare say they will be edu cated so as to deserve them.

I knew a wise old man, who used to advise his young friends to choose wives out of a bunch; for where there were many daughters, he said, they improved each other, and from emulation acquired more accomplishments, knew more, could do more, and were not spoiled by parental fondness, as single children often are. Yours have my best wishes, and blessing, if that can be of any value.

I received a very polite letter from your friend, Mr. Bowen, relating to the print. Please to present him my respectful compliments. I am just returned from a long journey. Your affectionate cousin,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO EZRA STILES.

French Translation of Zoroaster's Writings. — Remarks on the Work.

London, 13 January, 1772.

DEAR SIR,

There is lately published in Paris a work, entitled *Zend-Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre, contenant les Idées Théologiques, Physiques et Morales de ce Legislateur; les Cérémonies du Culte Religieux qu'il a établi, et*

plusieurs Traits importans relatifs à l'Ancienne Histoire des Perses. Traduit en François sur l'Original Zend, avec des Remarques; et accompagné de plusieurs Traités propres à éclaircir les Matières, qui en sont l'Objet; par M. Anquetil du Perron, de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, et Interprète du Roy pour les Langues Orientales. It is in two volumes quarto. Near half the work is an account of the author's travels in India, and his residence among the Parses during several years to learn their languages.

I have cast my eye over the religious part; it seems to contain a nice morality, mixed with abundance of prayers, ceremonies, and observances. If you desire to have it, I will procure it for you. There is no doubt of its being a genuine translation of the books at present deemed sacred, as the writings of Zoroaster, by his followers; but perhaps some of them are of later date, though ascribed to him; for to me there seems too great a quantity and variety of ceremonies and prayers, to be directed at once by one man. In the Romish church they have increased gradually in the course of ages to their present bulk. Those, who added new ones from time to time, found it necessary to give them authority by pretences of their antiquity. The books of Moses, indeed, if all written by him, which some doubt, are an exception to this observation. With great esteem, I am ever, dear Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN.

London, 28 January, 1772.

My dear Child,

I have written several short letters to you lately, promising to write more fully by Captain Falconer, which I now sit down to do with a number of your favors before me. I take notice of the considerable sums you have paid. I would not have you send me any receipts. I am satisfied with the accounts you give.

I am much pleased with your little histories of our grandson, and happy in thinking how much amusement he must afford you. I pray that God may continue him to us and to his parents. Mr. Bache is about returning. His behaviour here has been very agreeable to me. I have advised him to settle down to business in Philadelphia, where, I hope, he will meet with success. I mentioned to you before, that I saw his mother and sisters at Preston, who are very genteel and agreeable people.

I received your young neighbour Haddock's silk, and carried it to her relations, who live very well, keeping a linen-draper's shop in Bishop's-gate Street. They have a relation in Spitalfields, that is a manufacturer, who I believe will do it well. I shall honor much every young lady, that I find on my return dressed in silk of her own raising. I thank you for the sauceboats, and am pleased to find so good a progress made in the china manufactory. I wish it success most heartily.

Mrs. Stevenson, too, loves to hear about your little boy. Her own grandson and my godson is a fine child, now nine months old. He has an attentive, observing, sagacious look, as if he had a great deal of

sense; but as yet he is not enough acquainted with our language to express it intelligibly. His mother nurses him herself, for which I much esteem her; as it is rather unfashionable here; where numbers of little innocents suffer and perish. His name is William.

The squirrels came safe and well. You will see by the enclosed how welcome they were. A hundred thanks are sent you for them, and I thank you for the readiness with which you executed the commission. The buckwheat and Indian meal are come safe and good. They will be a great refreshment to me this winter; for, since I cannot be in America, every thing that comes from thence comforts me a little, as being something like home. The dried peaches, too, are excellent; those dried without their skins. The parcel in their skins are not so good. The apples are the best I ever had, and came with the least damage. The sturgeon you mention, did not come; but that is not so material.

I hope our cousin Fisher will do well among us. He seems a sober, well inclined man; and, when I saw him at Birmingham, he appeared to be well respected by his relations and friends. An active, lively, industrious wife would be a good thing for him. I sent you from Ireland a fine piece of the holland of that country. Captain All, whom I met with there, found a captain whom he knew, who promised to take care of it and deliver it safe. You mention nothing of it in your letter of December 2d, when, in the common course, you ought to have had it before that time, which makes me fear it is lost. I wrote to you from Dublin and from Glasgow in Scotland. I was in Ireland about seven weeks; in Scotland about four weeks; absent from London, in all, more than three months. My tour was a very pleasant one. I received abun-

dance of civilities from the gentry of both kingdoms, and my health is improved by the air and exercise.

I have advised Mr. Bache to deal only in the ready money way, though he should sell less. It is the safest and the most easy manner of carrying on business. I have given him two hundred pounds sterling to add something to his cargo. My love to our dear Sally. Your affectionate husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO MRS. SARAH BACHE.

London, 29 January, 1772.

DEAR SALLY,

I met with Mr. Bache at Preston, where I stayed two or three days, being very kindly entertained by his mother and sisters, whom I liked much. He came to town with me, and is now going home to you. I have advised him to settle down to business in Philadelphia, where he will always be with you. I am of opinion, that almost any profession a man has been educated in is preferable to an office held at pleasure, as rendering him more independent, more a free man, and less subject to the caprices of superiors; and I think, that, in keeping a store, if it be where you dwell, you can be serviceable to him, as your mother was to me; for you are not deficient in capacity, and I hope you are not too proud.

You might easily learn accounts, and you can copy letters, or write them very well upon occasion. By industry and frugality you may get forward in the world, being both of you yet young; and then what we may leave you at our death will be a pretty addition, though of itself far from sufficient to maintain and bring up a family. It is of more importance for

you to think seriously of this, as you may have a number of children to educate. Till my return you need be at no expense for rent, as you are all welcome to continue with your mother; and indeed it seems to be your duty to attend her, as she grows infirm, and takes much delight in your company and the child's. This saving will be a help in your progress; and for your encouragement I can assure you, that there is scarce a merchant of opulence in your town, whom I do not remember a young beginner with as little to go on with, and no better prospects than Mr. Bache.

I hope you will attend to what is recommended to you in this letter, it proceeding from sincere affection, after due consideration, with the knowledge I have of the world and my own circumstances. I am much pleased with the account I receive from all hands of your dear little boy. I hope he will be continued a blessing to us all. It is a pleasure to me, that the little things I sent you proved agreeable. I am ever, my dear Sally, your affectionate father,

B. FRANKLIN.

TO WILLIAM FRANKLIN.

Tour in Ireland. — Introduced into the Irish Parliament. — Visit to Scotland. — Mr. Bache. — American Agents in England. — Proposes returning home.

London, 30 January, 1772.

MY DEAR SON,

In your last you mention some complaisance of Lord Hillsborough towards you, that showed a disposition to be on better terms. His behaviour to me in Ireland corresponds exactly. We met first at the Lord

Lieutenant's. Mr. Jackson and I were invited to dine there, and when we came, we were shown into a room where Lord Hillsborough was alone. He was extremely civil, wonderfully so to me, whom he had not long before abused to Mr. Strahan, as a factious, turbulent fellow, always in mischief, a republican, enemy to the King's service, and what not. He entered very frankly into conversation with us both, and invited us both to stop at his house in Hillsborough, as we should travel northward, and urged it in so polite a manner, that we could not avoid saying that we would wait on him if we went that way. In my own mind I was determined not to go that way; but Mr. Jackson thought himself obliged to call on his Lordship, considering the connexion his office forms between them. His Lordship dined with us at the Lord Lieutenant's. There were at table the Lord Chancellor, the Speaker, and all the great officers of state. He drank my health, and was otherwise particularly civil. He went from Dublin some days before us.*

At Dublin we saw and were entertained by both parties, the courtiers and the patriots. The latter treated me with particular respect. We were admitted to sit among the members of the Commons' House; Mr. Jackson as member of the British Parliament, and I as member of some British Parliament in America. The Speaker proposed it in my behalf, with some very obliging expressions of respect for my character, and was answered by the House with a unanimous *ay* of consent, when two members came out to me, led me in between them, and placed me honorably and commodiously. I hope our Assemblies will not fall short of

* In the original, here follows an account of his visit to Lord Hillsborough, the same in substance as that contained in the letter to Mr Cushing, dated January 13th. See above, p. 554

them in this politeness, if any Irish member should happen to be in our country.

In Scotland I spent five days with Lord Kames at his seat, Blair Drummond, near Stirling, two or three days at Glasgow, two days at Carron Iron Works, and the rest of the month in and about Edinburgh, lodging at David Hume's, who entertained me with the greatest kindness and hospitality, as did Lord Kames and his lady All our old acquaintances there, Sir Alexander Dick and lady, Mr. McGowan, Drs. Robertson, Cullen, Black, Ferguson, Russel, and others, inquired affectionately of your welfare. I was out three months, and the journey was evidently of great service to my health.

Mr. Bache had some views of obtaining an office in America; but I dissuaded him from the application, as I could not appear in it, and rather wish to see all I am connected with in an independent situation, supported by their own industry. I therefore advised him to lay out the money he brought with him in goods, return and sit down to business in Philadelphia, selling for ready money only, in which way I think he might, by quick returns, get forward in the world. It would have been wrong for Sally to leave her mother, besides incurring the expense of such a voyage.

I cast my eye over Goddard's piece against our friend Mr. Galloway, and then lit my fire with it. I think such feeble, malicious attacks cannot hurt him.

The resolution of the Board of Trade to admit, for the future, no agents to appear before them, but such as are appointed by "concurrent act of the whole Legislature," will, I think, put an end to agencies, as, I apprehend, the Assemblies will think agents under the ministerial influence, that must arise from such appointments, cannot be of much use in their colony

affairs. In truth, I think the agents, as now appointed, of as much use to the government here, as to the colonies that send them, having often prevented its going into mistaken measures through misinformation, that must have been very inconvenient to itself, and would have prevented more of the same kind if they had been attended to; witness the stamp and duty acts. I believe, therefore, we shall conclude to leave this omniscient, infallible minister to his own devices, and be no longer at the expense of sending any agent, whom he can displace by a repeal of the appointing act. I am sure I should not like to be an agent in such a suspicious situation, and shall therefore decline serving under every such appointment.

Your Assembly may avoid the dispute you seem apprehensive of, by leaving the appointment of an agent out of the support bill, or rather I should say, the sum for his salary. The money in my hands will pay him, whoever he is, for two or three years, in which the measure and the minister may be changed. In the mean time, by working with a friend, who has great influence at the Board, he can serve the province as effectually as by an open reception and appearance.

Our friend Sir John Pringle put into my hands the other day a letter from Mr. Bowman, seeming, I thought, a good deal pleased with the notice you had taken of his recommendation. I send you a copy of it, that you may see the man has a grateful disposition. Temple has been at home with us during the Christmas vacation from school. He improves continually, and more and more engages the regard of all that are acquainted with him, by his pleasing, sensible, manly behaviour.

I have of late great debates with myself whether or not I shall continue here any longer. I grow home-

sick, and, being now in my sixty-seventh year, I begin to apprehend some infirmity of age may attack me, and make my return impracticable. I have, also, some important affairs to settle before my death, a period I ought now to think cannot be far distant. I see here no disposition in Parliament to meddle farther in colony affairs for the present, either to lay more duties or to repeal any; and I think, though I were to return again, I may be absent from here a year without any prejudice to the business I am engaged in, though it is not probable, that, being once at home, I should ever again see England. I have indeed so many good kind friends here, that I could spend the remainder of my life among them with great pleasure, if it were not for my American connexions, and the indelible affection I retain for that dear country, from which I have so long been in a state of exile. My love to Betsey. I am ever your affectionate father,

B. FRANKLIN.

END OF VOL. VII.